THE NARRATIVE OF A JAPANESE.

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NARRATIVE

OF A

JAPANESE;

What he has seen and the people he has met in the course of the last forty years.

BY

JOSEPH HECO.

Edited

BY

JAMES MURDOCH, M.A.

VOL. I.

(FROM THE TIME OF HIS BEING CASTAWAY IN 1850 DOWN TO THE FIGHT OF SHIMONOSEKI.)

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INTRODUCTION.

Some time in the spring of 1892, I was handed eight thin but closely-written note-books, with a request that I should extract from them all that was of more than purely personal interest, and if I deemed the excerpts so made worthy of being made public, to see to the publication of the same. The first two of these volumes contained all that the writer could recall of his childhood in old Japan, of his being cast-away and picked up and taken to America, and of what befell him there. The remaining six formed a portion of the regular diary which Mr. Heco has kept ever since the time he began to write English. Dealing as they do with such stirring themes as the opening of the Treaty Ports, and life in them at a time when all the pomp and splendour of the old feudal Japan which has now so utterly passed away were daily before men's eyes, at a time when it was not good for folks to walk abroad at night without an armed guard, at a time when the social and political fabric of centuries was surely tottering to its fall, the pages of these note-books are of more than mere passing interest. From his official position—Inter-

preter to the U. S. Consulate—and from the fact that in those early years he was almost the only Japanese who spoke English, Mr. Heco had unusual opportunities of seeing and hearing things from two stand-points, from the native as well as the foreign; opportunities of which he seems to have availed himself with no mean measure of shrewdness.

Then there are visits to the U. S. in the troublous times of the Great War, and LINCOLN and SEWARD, and SUMNER, and BROOKE of *Merrimac* fame appear to play their part in the story. Later, on Mr. Heco's return to Japan, we have a faithful record of how one feels on shipboard when the round shot are whizzing in the rigging, for the Interpreter of the Consulate was on board the *Wyoming* when McDougal ran amuck with such deadly effect among the Chōshiu batteries and men-of-war at Shimonoseki in 1863. It is at this point that Volume I. comes to a conclusion. The second part of the book will be found of even greater interest. It will deal with the tortuous plots and intrigues that preluded the overthrow of the Tokugawa despotism, with the problems that the Revolution of '68 set, and with the solutions that men like KIDO, OKUBO, ITO and INOUYE found for them.

Nothing in the sense of Mr. Heco's diary has been changed in the setting forth of his story. I have

confined myself to condensing it, and to weaving as far as possible the disconnected items into a continuous narrative. For the first few chapters of Vol. I. my responsibility ends with cutting out a quantity of irrelevant details, and with here and there recasting a paragraph. These chapters had been already prepared for publication when I took the matter in hand.

JAMES MURDOCH.

My Birth Place.

I.

I was born in the Island Empire of Japan, in the village of Komiya in the Province of Harima in the Sanyōdō on the shore of the Harima Nada. The Harima Nada is the easternmost reach of the famous Inland Sea, that beautiful land-locked stretch of water which separates the main island from the smaller ones of Shikoku and Kiushiu.

At the time of my birth in 1837, Komiya was a good-sized village of some four or five hundred houses, with from 2,000 to 2,500 inhabitants; it has now dwindled to about one-seventh of its former size and importance. The majority of its people were farmers; the remainder were fishermen, sailors and traders.

My father was a well-to-do farmer. He died some twelve months after I was born, and my mother a few years after his death re-married into a family in the adjoining town of Hamada. The inhabitants of this place were also principally

farmers and fishermen, although a few were seafaring men, since that village too was on the shore.

My parents had two sons, of whom I was the younger. From his youth my brother had always been very fond of roving, and at last my step-father seeing the impossibility of keeping the boy quietly at home, apprenticed him at the age of 16 to his uncle, the captain of a large junk trading between Ōsaka and Yedo. The lad was quick to master his work, and in a few years' time he had worked himself up to be second officer on his uncle's vessel.

All this time I remained quietly at home, and went to school. But I am afraid there was a good deal of the rover in my disposition too. Whenever my brother came home he used to deliver himself of the story of his travels to the family and to our neighbours. He would tell of his voyages to different places, and of the adventures that had befallen him, perhaps sometimes touching up his pictures a trifle with a little extra colour as travellers are wont to do.

He would repeat to us the strange stories he used to hear from the still stranger people he had met—people who had ways so different from our own (my townsmen), for in these days the means of communication and travel were very different from the railways, steamers, and telegraphs of to-day,

and the simple village-folk seldom went further from their own homes than perhaps a distance of twenty or thirty miles, so that Nagasaki was as far from us then comparatively speaking as was Moscow from London at that same date. My brother's stories soon made him quite famous, and the courage displayed by one so young in daring forth to such distant places earned for him the highest praise. My brother's talk and the praise bestowed upon him led me to think that if I too could travel, I might be received in the same way and made as much of by the villagers;—besides, I thought often and wistfully of the different places I could see and the novel experiences I could have. Thus the first thought of rambling crept into my mind, and from that moment my desire to leave home never ceased. Yet I little thought of ever seeing anything beyond my own country; indeed, I don't suppose that at the time I even dreamt of the existence of other lands, or if I did, it was to pity the Barbarians who, I may have heard, came each year or so to Nagasaki to trade with us.

One day, I bit by bit disclosed to my mother my wish to go to sea. She asked me, as how many mothers have done in all parts of the world, what reason I had for quitting a comfortable home and going to sea, where I was sure to be miserable, when

I might be happy and at my ease on shore. She also used many other arguments to dissuade me from leaving her and our home. I explained to her that my brother seemed to have visited many new places, and to have seen many strange things without much effort, and I said that if I followed his occupation, I too would have the same chance of visiting different places and seeing wonderful things.

My mother said; "I have no objection to your going to see new places and novel things, but you know that you are too young to go far away from home. Besides, sea life is not so very pleasant, nor is it considered so very respectable, unless one works up to be a Captain, or at least an officer. For youngsters have to go through a long and generally a very disagreeable apprenticeship. If I were to let you go to sea, and there should be bad weather, I would be very anxious for you as well as for your brother, and your step-father. It is enough for me to worry about them, as I now do continually. So for these reasons I dislike your idea of following the sea as a calling, and can never allow you to carry it out."

She added further that she was thinking of putting me into one of the commercial houses in Hiogo. This she thought would be advantageous to both my brother and myself, since commerce and shipping go together, and we should then be

able to assist each other. After saying all this, and giving me much more good maternal advice, she told me not to think of going away from my comfortable home to make myself miserable tossing about on the restless sea in a miserable craft, but to stay contentedly with her and finish my education. Then she would get me a position in one of the great commercial houses of Hiōgo (the port of Ōsaka, which was then the commercial metropolis of Japan). After turning over the matter and trying to judge for myself in my boyish way, I very sensibly (I think) came to the conclusion that it was best for me to follow my mother's advice and not to think any more of rambling away from home. So I went quietly back to school and continued there for two years or more.

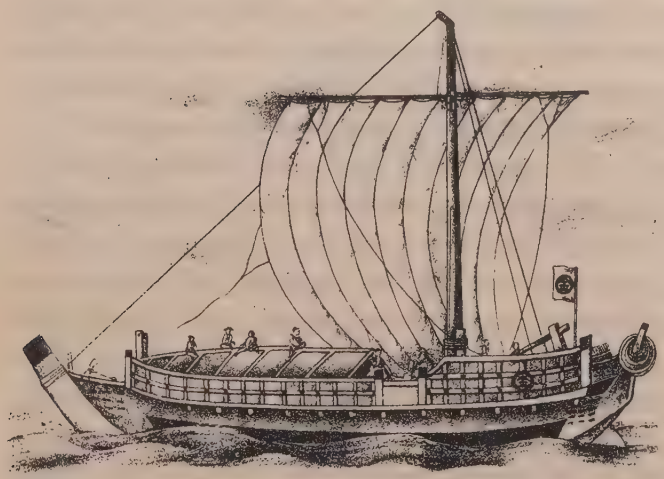
II.

In the beginning of the 3rd moon of the 3rd year of Kayei, that is to say about April 1850, my cousin came home in his little craft of about 100 *koku* * burden. He was on his way from Osaka to Marugamé, a sea-port of the island of Shikoku to the westward of our little village, with nine Yedo passengers who wished to visit the famous Temple of Kompira, near Marugame. As there was plenty of room, for the junk had accommodation for something like sixty or seventy persons, my cousin invited me to go with him to visit the temple. I told him that my mother would not allow me to leave home, but he said he would get her consent. And he did, upon condition that he should not take me elsewhere than to the Temple of Kompira and back.

It can well be imagined that I was delighted with his success. I felt very glad and happy at the prospect of seeing something new, and I set to work, as only an excited boy can, to make preparations for my departure.

* (*Koku*, a measure of quantity—equalling about 333⅓ lbs., or 16.8 *koku*=a ton).

When the day came, I bade my mother *Sayonara*, (good-bye) and went on board the little craft.



Here I was warmly welcomed by the passengers. They made a great favorite of me during the entire voyage, thus greatly increasing the pleasure of the trip.

We set sail and stood off in a westerly direction for our destination. To me the excitement of being at last fairly on my way into that strange world of which I had heard so much, was so great that I can re-call every little incident of the trip at this day, and although they are trivial details which

can be of no interest to the general reader, I am sure that every one will have much sympathy with the youngster who was then taking his plunge into the great ocean of life.

In due course we came to anchor in the port of Marugame. Here our passengers went ashore and took up their quarters at a hotel in the town, while we set our little vessel to rights and moored her properly, before sitting down to supper.

Marugame and the neighbouring town of Tadotsu, serve as starting points for pilgrimages to the celebrated temple of Kompira, near Kotohira, about two miles to the south-east of the former. Kotohira may number about 5,000 inhabitants. It is full of roomy hostelries. In one of these over several hundred pilgrims dine every day during the season. Their goal is the temple of Kompira, or as he is now commonly styled in the official Shinto worship, Kotohira.

On the morning after our arrival, the Captain, one of the crew, and myself, landed and started on foot for Kompira.

The road for some distance was broad, level and in good repair. About eleven o'clock we came to the foot of the hill which is crowned by the Temple. On our way we passed several pack-horses with goods or passengers, and many cripples and beggars by the wayside whining for

alms from the pilgrims and passers-by. Some of them were badly diseased,—some indeed almost entirely covered with open, running sores. I was told that they had come there as a last resource, in the hope of getting cured through the favor of the god Kompira. It was the custom of the country for any diseased person who had been given up as incurable by his physician, to resort to this possible method of getting relief, and to stay there until cured of his malady, or relieved from further suffering by death. And the custom still obtains in all parts of Japan.

After a few minutes' rest at one of the little inns at the foot of the hill, and passing the long rows of houses with their rosaries, idols, chop-sticks of wood and bamboo, and hundreds of other articles for sale, we came to the stone steps and ascended to the chief temple. When we got to the top we found several shrines scattered over the plateau. There were also a bell-tower, an "*Emado*" (the place in Shinto temples where *ex votos* are hung), a tank of water for lustration before worshipping (as is required by the Shinto ritual), a life-sized bronze horse to which rice is offered, and lanterns of stone, and bronze. From the foot of the hill to the top, the road was in excellent repair, and most of the way the steps were of stone, with stone railings on both sides.

These stone railings, the lanterns, the bronze horse, etc., were all *ex-votos*, and the names, places of residence of the donors, and the dates of their offerings were carved on each of them.

I was told that the temple was founded by a man named Kūkai, better known by his posthumous title of Kō-bō Dai-shi, about one thousand years ago. The hill on which it stands is called the Elephant's Head, for the reason that the shape of the mountain closely resembles the head of that animal; it is said that the mountain in shape and general appearance is not unlike one in some part of India also called by the same name. The lanterns on the top when lighted at night, look like the eyes of an elephant. The god or saint to whom the temple is dedicated, is said to have been one of the 600 Rakan. He is called Kompira Jino. His face wore a scowling lowering expression, it being his duty to look after the behaviour of the people as our police do now. When he was alive he swore that he would control the sea for ever, and for that reason all native mariners worship this god; they all make an effort to visit this temple, but when this is impossible they rest contented with the services which they offer before the image (or wooden board with an inscription) which they set up in the *Kami-dana* (the small shrine to be found in all Japanese dwellings).

After we got to the top of the mountain, we washed our hands and rinsed our mouths with water from the font provided for that purpose, according to the requirements of the Shinto religion which teach that one must always come to the shrine with clean hands and a pure mouth. We then went up to the shrine, made our offerings and prayed. Next we went all round the place

and looked at its various wonders. Afterwards we descended to the foot of the hill, entered one of the inns, and ordered dinner. After dinner we sallied out into the village streets and bought some *Mi-yagé* (presents); it being to my mind one

of the prettiest of our country's customs that whenever a person goes away from home, particularly if bent on pleasure, he shall take back to all the members of the household whom he leaves behind, some memento (not necessarily more than a trifle) of the places he has visited. Our purchases completed and the sights of the place exhausted, we hired a pack horse for half a *bu* (or 16 $^{6}/_{10}$ cents, say six-pence) to carry all three of us back to Marugame, a distance of three *ri* (=7½ miles).

This was the first time in my life that I had ever ridden a horse, and the novel sensation afforded me much pleasure and excitement.

We found that our passengers wished to extend their charter of our vessel so as to visit the sacred Island of Miyajima, further west in the Inland Sea, and then to return eastward as far as the port of Muro in the province of Harima.

To this the captain agreed. So we sailed out of the little harbour of Marugame on the 12th day of the fourth moon, bound for Miyajima, a distance of 50 *ri* (125 English miles), and arrived there safely on the 21st day of the same month. On our way, we passed through the beautiful little Strait Ondo. Tradition says that when Kiyomori was at the height of his power, he met the goddess of Miyajima and made love to her. But she rejected

his suit and told him that if he would build a temple on the island in a single day she would accept his love and consent to his wishes. On hearing this, Kiyomori ordered his officers and men to set to work and build the temple at any cost. The work was undertaken by a large force of artizans and workmen and was nearly completed when the sun began to dip. Kiyomori brought out a large fan on which was painted a red ball crest—the image of the Sun; he unfolded this and waved it towards the Sun, calling upon him to stay his course. The Sun gave heed to him and stood still, so that his workmen completed the structure in one day. Then Kiyomori went and offered the temple to the goddess and asked her to fulfil her promise. She said, "Here I am," and immediately her beautiful form turned into a dragon. This so frightened Kiyomori that, notwithstanding his courage, he ran from her and leaped into a boat. But the dragon rushed into the water with a great hiss and pursued the boat towards the Straits of Ondo. When Kiyomori reached the Straits he turned round. To his horror he found that the dragon was still pursuing him; so he made a scowling face at the monster and a sign to the water. The current of the straits then turned and set against the dragon and she was unable to stem it, and so turned back and disappeared from his sight forever.

It is all owing to this very cause, the fishermen say, that the current in this Strait behaves so strangely even unto this day. For it runs very swiftly for a while in one direction, stops suddenly and for about fifteen minutes runs in the opposite direction, and then resumes its regular course for a considerably longer period. This phenomenon we experienced as we passed both going and returning.

We soon reached the famous island of Miyajima.

Our passengers all went ashore to visit the Temple and I went with them. The island, the geo-

graphical name of which is Itsukushima, is situated in front of the town of Hiro-shima, and is part of province of Aki.

It is 7 *ri* in circumference and about one *ri* across. It is said that one of the very first Buddhist Temples in Japan was built on this island by one of the missionaries who introduced that religion from China and India. It is also celebrated for one of the oldest Shinto shrines in the country, built in 587 A.D. by the Emperor Sui-nin in honor of the goddess Benten, popularly reckoned as one of the seven Gods of Fortune of my country.

The island sweeps up very high (about 1,500 ft.) and rocky; heavily wooded, but with scarcely any cultivatable land, although there are many beautiful little vales opening to the sea. In them among groves of maple, nestle the inns, tea-houses, and dwellings of the fishermen and image-carvers who, with the priests and innkeepers, make up the population of the isle to the number of some 3,000 in all. The principal Temple stands on the beach. A portion of it is built upon piles in the water, so that at high tide you can enter it by boat. At some distance out in the water rises a large wooden *Tori-i*, or portal, such as one finds at the entrance to all Shinto temples on shore,—for since the restoration of the Emperor (Mikado) to full temporal power, the two religions, Buddhism

and Shinto, have been strangely blended, both in ceremonial and outward symbol, in all the principal temples of the land. Near the top of the high hill in the centre of the island is a small shrine where a sacred fire ever burns. According to the priests in charge, it has never been permitted to go out since it was first lighted by the saint Kō-bo Daishi, over a thousand years ago. At the very top in a detached boulder, is a small hole containing water which the priests say comes up from the Sea.

I have wandered away from my narrative and must now return. The day after our arrival at Miyajima, when we had pretty well exhausted the sights of the place and had bought our *Miyage*, our passengers hired a six-oared boat in order to cross to Su-wō where they wished to see the bridge called *Kintai*. They kindly invited my cousin and myself to go with them, and we gladly accepted their invitation.

This bridge in one of the famous sights of Japan, and many people from all parts of the country flock to see it. It crosses the river Nishiki-gawa, near the town of Iwakuni, in the province of Su-wō, by five spans on stone abutments and piers. Although it has been repaired from time to time, it still shows the old style of bridge architecture. Each arch is made of large timbers, strangely curved, and solidly bolted together; the

curve is so great that the planking is laid in steps to enable people to ascend and descend in safety when the wood is wet and slippery. Each span is about 120 or 125 feet long and about 15 feet wide.

In the latter part of the fourth moon we sailed for home. We called at the port of Tomo in the province of Bingo, at the request of our passengers, who wished to purchase some of the sweet *saké* called *Homei-shu* which is made there, and which is famous for its flavour and for its quality of keeping sound for a long time. Most travellers

who come thus far from the Eastern provinces, buy quantities of this *saké* to take home as presents to their families and friends.

We stayed at Tomo two days, and then made for Muro-tsu in the province of Banshu. Here we landed our passengers and bade them farewell, as they were to return home overland, in order to see the *Mei-sho* (famous places) of the province.

After the passengers had left, we cleaned up our little vessel, and on the 3rd day we sailed for home. We arrived there on the 15th day of the fifth moon, having been away exactly fifty-six days, during which time we had traversed about 80 *ri* or 200 English miles, going and returning.

III.

When we landed at our village my mother was there anxiously awaiting my return. She welcomed me warmly, embraced me affectionately, and took me home to our house. There I related all I had seen, described the places I had visited, and presented my "*Miyagé*." She listened with much interest, but advised me not to go away from home again, as she was so anxious for my safety, and felt so lonely.

After I had told her all about the journey, I went out to see some of my neighbours and to distribute some "*Miyagé*." While I was repeating to them what I had told my mother, one of the family in whose house I was at the time came rushing swiftly in and told me to go home at once as my mother had been taken suddenly ill and was suffering greatly. I thought she was joking and said that it was impossible, since I had left my mother well and hearty only a few minutes before. But the woman declared that she was in earnest and advised me to

go home at once, as several of the neighbours were gathered together in the house attending to her.

I hastened home to find my mother lying on the floor mats, groaning and vomiting. I asked those present what the matter was, but none could tell me how or why she had become so ill. Then I knelt down beside her and asked what was wrong; she opened her eyes, looked at me for a moment, and then took a bunch of keys from the fold of her *obi* (sash) and handed them to me saying: "Take great care of these." She then shut her eyes and breathed heavily, but said nothing more. After receiving the keys, I put them away in a safe place, and came back to my mother's side. I asked her again how she felt and why she was so ill, but no reply ever came from her lips.

Then for the first time I became thoroughly alarmed and began to realize that her condition was something serious; and this caused me to wonder what I should do, if she did not recover from the attack.

While I was thus thinking two physicians for whom the neighbours had sent, came in one after the other. They both examined the patient, and after some conversation pronounced her illness to be "*sotchiu*," a kind of apoplexy. They at once mixed some medicine from the remedies in the medicine chest which they had brought with

them, and gave it to my aunt—she had arrived in the meantime—with full instructions how to administer it to the patient. My aunt prepared the medicine and brought it to my mother. But she was perfectly insensible; her teeth were clenched and her mouth perfectly rigid. The physicians came daily and frequently changed the medicine, but my mother remained insensible, continually breathing heavily.

On the third day the doctors consulted and decided to try to bleed her by making a cut in the lobe of her ear. But nothing came from it. After this they asked for some gold and silver coins. My aunt came to me for them, so I got the bunch of keys, which my mother had given to me, and opened the safe, where I found some *koban* and *nibu*, (gold coins equalling respectively a tael and a half tael) and some *bu* (silver coins=¼ of a *koban*) which I handed to the doctors. They selected one *koban*, one gold *nibu*, and one silver *bu*. These they gave to my aunt with instructions to put them into a pint of water, and to boil it down until there was from a half to three-quarters of a pint of liquid, which was to be given to the patient. Their instructions were carefully obeyed. But whatever efficacy there might have been in this remedy was entirely lost, for the patient did not swallow any of it, because her teeth were clenched so

tightly that we could not open her mouth. At length my aunt suggested, as was usual in such cases, that as my mother's chance of recovery under the doctor's treatment was very slight, I had better visit the local temple (*Wujigami*) and pray that her life might be spared and her health restored. So I went as I was bid, and made many vows as to what I would do if my prayers were answered. But all to no purpose; on the fourth day after my mother was taken ill, she expired quietly and passed into another world without a murmur.

During the time of my mother's illness, I attended her closely and never left her bed-side, except to visit the temple to pray to the gods to spare her life and to make my vows.

When she died I felt very sad and lonely, since she was the person in the whole wide world of whom I thought the most. Besides, my brother and step-father were then away from home. The only relative near me was my aunt who had come over to the house when my mother was first taken ill, and had stayed there ever since. But she would not take the responsibility of the household upon herself. She wished me to take charge of everything, and to keep the keys until my step-father came home. Thus I was made to keep house at the early age of thirteen.

The third day after my mother's death her funeral took place according to the Buddhist ceremonies, for in those days all burials were performed according to the Buddhist rites. Shinto burial never took place. The Shinto religion was considered pure at that time, and death was supposed to be unclean for the living. For that reason, if any death occurred in a house the family shrines were generally closed for 75 days at least, and none of the inmates were allowed to pray to the gods. Thus Shintoism was for the living and Buddhism for the dead.

The funeral was a grand affair for our little village. Our relatives came from far and near, and the whole of the towns-people gathered themselves together, for my mother had been much respected by the villagers. She was very well educated for a woman in those days, and her knowledge had enabled her to be of assistance to them in many ways. She was very kind to them at all times and having some means at her command, she was able to be charitable to the sick and the poor.

About a fortnight after my mother's funeral, my step-father came home. His vessel had returned from Yedo to Hiogo, and he had received a letter at the latter place, notifying him of the death of his wife. I felt very glad to see him since he had always been a very kind father to

Funeral Procession.

ıne. After his return, we lived quietly at home, as was customary, during the *Ki-chiu*, or one hundred days of mourning. By the time that period was over, his vessel had made a trip to Yedo and back to Hiogo, and was ready to go on another voyage.

One day he asked me whether I would stay at home and keep house with my aunt and go to school, or go with him on a trip to Yedo. I replied that I would like to visit Yedo, if he would take me, since my wish was to see that great city. He said he would take me and leave the house in charge of my aunt. This trip to Yedo was just what I had long been wishing for, as it would give me a chance to see more new places and things, and my journey to Miyajima had only whetted my appetite for travel.

IV.

About the beginning of the 9th moon (*i.e.* towards the latter part of 1850 A.D.) I set sail in my step-father's junk, the *Sumiyoshi-maru*, from Hiogo, bound for Yedo, with a cargo of *saké* and other articles. The vessel was classed at 1,600 *koku* (about 238 odd tons) carrying capacity, and was about the largest sized junk of those days. She was owned by a wealthy *saké* brewer of Nada, in the province of Settsu.

We skirted the northern shore of the Kii Channel, and in a few days rounded Cape Oshima. Then the weather became rainy and the wind contrary; so we put into the port of Kuki in the province of Shima (usually known as Kumano), a deep-water and beautiful harbour. Here we remained a few days, waiting for clear weather and a fair wind. While we were there another junk, the *Eiriki-maru*, came in. She was quite new, of about the same size as ourselves and belonged to a relative of our owner. She came from the same place, and was bound on the same voyage as the *Sumiyoshi*.

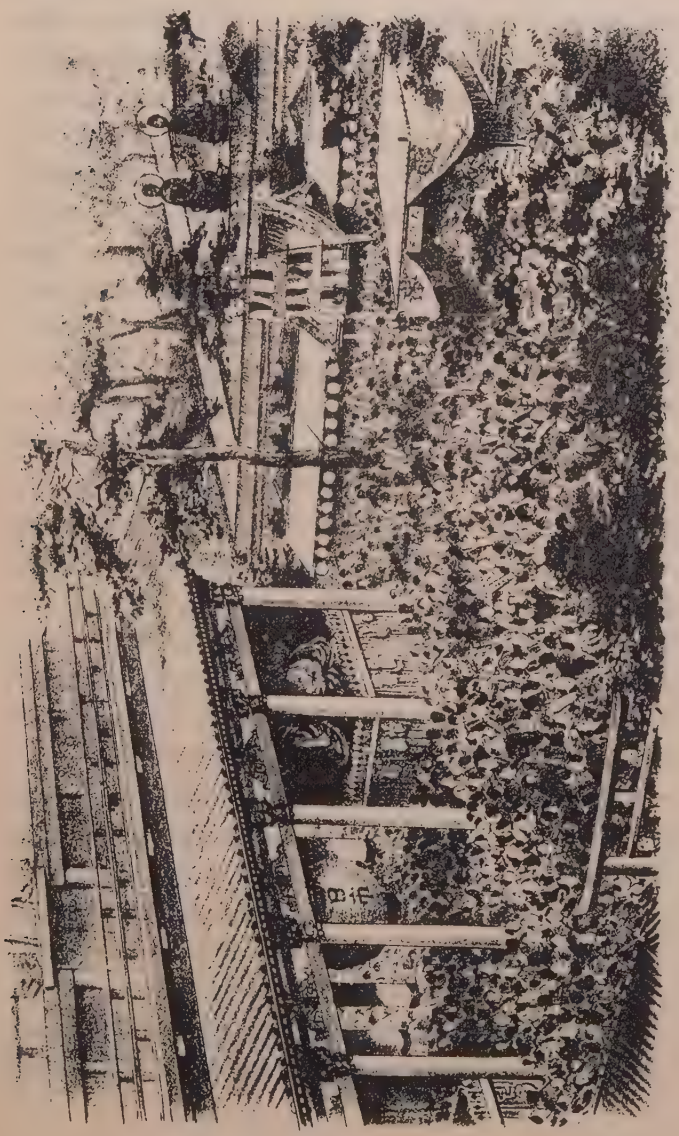
The Captain, and some of the officers and men of this new arrival were from towns near my home. They knew who I was and something of my history, and as they rather admired my boyish pluck in choosing a sailor's life, they made quite a pet of me. When the fair weather set in, and we were ready to sail for Yedo, they invited me to go with them in their new vessel to visit the great Capital. I asked my father whether I could go with them. He objected on the ground that I was too young to go so far away with other people. Then the Captain and officers of the *Eiriki* came and asked my father's consent to my going with them, promising to take good care of me, to show me the city, and to return me safe and sound when we should next be in company. My father at length consented and I changed from his vessel to the new one, and setting sail in her, arrived at Yedo over a fortnight earlier than the *Sumiyoshi-maru*.

While the vessel remained at Yedo, I had an opportunity of seeing the immediate ancestor of the modern Tokio, but the city which I saw forty years ago is as different from the Tokio of to-day in most respects as can be well imagined. At that time there was absolutely no trace of intercourse with foreigners; now one finds kerosene oil and lamps for sale in the most out-of-the way lanes,

to say nothing of the railways, the tramways, the European carriages, the western costumes on native men and women, and the foreigners themselves.

For a few days after arriving at Shinagawa, the port properly speaking of the city, although not in any way separated from the rest of the place, we were all very busy—the officers in going about to deliver cargo, or to notify consignees to take delivery and to find out cargo for the return voyage; the crew in handling the cargo and looking after the vessel. After a while, when the rush was somewhat over, I was taken ashore by the officers. We entered the mouth of the Sumida and ascended to the landing place. The stream was crowded with vessels of all sizes; the shore was lined along almost its entire course with Godowns (fire-proof warehouses), and the place had all the busy look of a great metropolis. In the distance we saw the walls and watch-towers of the castle, at that time the residence of the Shogun Iye-yoshi, and at intervals over the large city that lay spread out before us, rose the high roofs of many temples with the huge parabolic sweep of their black-tiled roofs.

The first officer of the *Eiriki-maru*, one of the crew and myself started out to see some of the sights of the great city. We first went to the temple at Asakusa. This temple is the Higashi



Temple of Asakusa.

Hongwanji, or Metropolitan of the Eastern Branch of the Monto sect of the Buddhists. Thousands of people were passing to and fro, and the crowd was so thick that I was not at all at ease. Therefore I held fast to the hand of the first officer and looked first to one side and then to the other to see all I could. There were many shops in front of the temple, between it and the first two-storied red-painted gate-way with its great carved figures, and huge lanterns depending from its entrance. There was a splendid Pagoda within the enclosure. After visiting this temple we went to "Oku-yama," or the inner mount, with its tea-stands and houses in the midst of groves of large evergreen trees (now all gone and re-placed with small ones, and no hill now to be seen). And all around were story-tellers, acrobats, jugglers, street-players, archery-galleries, and *Nozo-ki-ye* (stereoscopic views). We saw all these and returned to our quarters on shore (the *Tonya*, or Agent's) in the evening.

Next day I went with another of our officers to a temple called "Ten-jin" at Kame-ido (now famous for its wonderful Wistaria vines). This was a fine and beautiful structure, with a peculiar bridge, called *Sori-hashi*, over a pond called *Shin-ji-no-Ike*, or 'Pond of the Word Heart,' on account of a supposed resemblance to 心, the Chinese character for 'heart.' In the pond were large num-

bers of black and red carp. Visitors buy cakes and throw them to the fish which come up to show themselves. The pond was literally alive with hundreds of small turtles (*Kame*). These turtles and carp are offered by the devotees. At Asakusa we saw thousands of chickens, pigeons, and other birds which had been offered in the same way. Near about all temples there are people who make a meagre living by trapping birds and small animals to sell to the worshippers, for it is considered meritorious to restore any captive to freedom. It is probable that the liberated animals are very soon captured again.

The next day we went to the theatre. There were three theatres in one place, in grand style—to my thinking then. We saw the play of "*Anchin Kiyohime*" and then returned to the harbour by the Rio-goku Bashi. The neighbourhood of the bridge was lively; the streets were thronged with thousands of people, pack-horses, horsemen, cartmen, and passengers.

All this does not seem very much to have seen in three days, but Yedo was, as Tokio now is, a city of magnificent distances, and we went on foot, for in those days there were no easy means of communication such as tramcars, omnibuses, or jinrikisha. And had we not walked, we should have been compelled to go in *norimono* or *kago* (palanquins or

chairs) or on horseback, neither much quicker than on foot and both ways too expensive and inconvenient.

That was all I saw of Yedo, and when those trips were finished, the *Eiriki* was about ready for her return voyage. On the 20th day of the tenth moon we set sail homeward bound. My step-father's vessel the *Sumiyoshi-maru* arrived in Yedo Bay just as we were leaving, and I therefore had no chance of meeting him, and as my story will show later on, I never saw him more.

V.

On our way down Yedo bay we passed the village of Kanagawa and the insignificant fishing hamlet of Yokohama. But of course there was nothing about them then to attract our special attention.

In former times all junks entering the Bay of Yedo were stopped at Uraga for examination. The first expedition from the U. S. of America to Japan had entered the harbour of Uraga, in 1846. It consisted of the ship-of-the-line *Columbus* and the corvette *Vincennes*, under command of Commodore Biddle, U.S.N. It caused great excitement among the nobles and officers of the Government. My step-father's junk happened to be in the harbour at the time and was pressed for service by the native authorities as one of the several hundred guard-boats which surrounded the strangers. While I was at home I often heard my father tell the story and speak of the fear he felt at en-

countering the strange visitors. That expedition remained ten days. No one was allowed to land, and the answer to the President's letter consisted of the simple sentence; *No trade can be permitted with any other country than Holland.* This reply probably came from the Shogun, and not from the Mikado, as has been stated; for besides the fact that the Mikado at that time was not actively engaged in affairs of state, the interval which elapsed between the arrival of the foreign vessels and their departure was not sufficient to permit of communicating with Kioto, the Imperial residence, and getting a reply, for it is over 400 miles from Uraga. Many years afterwards, the story I heard from my step-father was corroborated by the First Lieutenant of the man-of-war *St. Mary*, when I was crossing the Pacific from San Francisco to Hong-kong. He told us, through an interpreter, that his uncle was the Commodore who visited Uraga in 1846 in the frigate *Columbus*, and that while that ship and the *Vincennes* were there they were continually surrounded by a number of native vessels. One day his uncle wished to see the inside of one of the native war-junks. So he went off in his gig, climbed up the side of the junk, and was just about to put foot on her gangway, when one of the two-sworded men (*samurai*) pushed him back into his boat. In his fall he hurt a limb, and

this and the insult that had been put upon him, made him wroth. The old gentleman returned to his vessel and was going to open fire and blow up the junk; but the Captain interfered and soothed the old Commodore by telling him that he was wrong in trying to go on board the stranger without giving notice.

We remained long enough at Uraga to complete our cargo, and about the 26th day of the same moon we set sail again. The first few days the wind was from the S.W. and contrary, so we were compelled to beat about the coast of the provinces of Sagami and Izu without making much headway. But on the 29th the wind changed to the N.E. and then to the E. and became fair. On the 30th the weather was fine, the wind was light from E. and S.E.—being fair for our course,—and we were going along nicely with all sails set and yards nearly squared. At sundown the weather had every appearance of continuing fine, so our Captain decided to cross Owari Bay or Tōtōmi Nada, from Omai-saki in Tō-tōmi to Oshima in Ki-i, instead of stopping at one of the harbours of the province of Ise, as was usual at that time of the year with such wind and weather—for the native mariners know well that if the wind gets to the E. and S.E. during the winter, the 10th, 11th and 12th moons, although the weather may be fine for a while,

are sure to experience a sudden and severe change. But somehow on this occasion there were more than 200 vessels standing on the same course, all equally confident that the fine weather would continue, for we did not notice any of them trying to make for shelter in the ports of Ise. So we stood on our course also.

But about 8 o'clock in the evening it became very dark, and rain commenced to fall, and the S.E. wind increased in force apace until at 9 o'clock it was blowing a gale, and we had to lower our sail by degrees so that in a short time we were carrying only a little sail just a few feet from the deck. A little while after this I was lying in my bunk half asleep, not knowing exactly what was going on ; the vessel rolled greatly and the roar of the wind and sea was such as I had never heard before. This awoke me completely, yet I could scarcely realize the situation until I looked out of the cabin. Then I saw the angry waves rolling as high as mountains. I became alarmed and most inexpressibly sick. I seriously reflected upon what I had done in leaving my father's vessel; I also remembered what my mother had told me so often, that the sea-life would make me miserable. While I was thus reflecting, some of the crew and the Captain passed my bunk saying *Namu-Amida-Butsu, Namu-Amida-Butsu.* (These Indian words meaning 'Hail

to the eternal splendor of Buddha' form the usual prayer of the Buddhists; all those who utter these words are taught by the priests that on saying them Amida will forgive their sins and receive them into the land of happiness. In the present instance the English equivalent would be "God save us!") When I heard them my fright increased more and more.

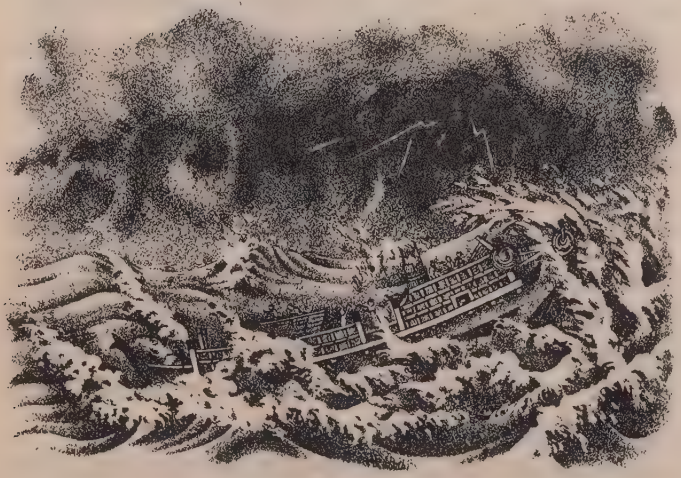
Meanwhile the storm became worse, and the seas rose higher and higher. Although nothing like what I have since seen several times, yet it was enough to trouble me very much then, for I had never known anything of the kind before. I expected every wave would swallow us up, and that every time the junk plunged down into the trough of the sea, she would never rise more; and in this agony of mind, I made many vows and resolutions that if it would please the gods to spare my life this voyage, and in their gracious mercy permit me to set foot on dry land once again, I would never more set out in a ship while I lived.

About 3 o'clock in the morning the rain which had been coming down in torrents ceased and the wind somewhat abated, although the sea continued to run high. At daybreak I looked out and saw several junks running in the same direction as ourselves, all labouring and in sore difficulties. Some were near to us, some

were far away; some were already without masts, and some were showing distress signals, but we could do nothing to help them, since the most we were able to do for ourselves was to keep our vessel afloat,—and we were in great danger of becoming unable to do even as much as that.

By 7 o'clock the S.E. wind had died away completely, so our Captain ordered the crew to hoist the sail. But while the men were at the capstan (for the heavy duck sail can only be hoisted in that way), in a moment of time, a new and fierce wind from the N.W. burst upon us with twofold strength and violence; so we had to lower the sail instead of hoisting it, and were compelled to fasten yard and sail alike on deck to prevent them from being blown away into the sea. We changed our course to S.E. and ran the vessel before the new wind, but she rolled tremendously because of her tall and heavy mast and pitched heavily against the S.E. sea which was still running high. Although now we had not a stitch of canvas on, we drove along at about 3 or 4 knots per hour. About noon we had to jettison a part of our cargo of barley and peas to the amount of 200 bales, in order to lighten the vessel and to keep the mast from rolling out of her. She took in water from both sides as she rolled, and we had to be at the pump all the time. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we sighted land on our right.

This we supposed to be the Tosa Point. And now we could not keep the mast any longer, but had



to cut it away before the night came on. In about 15 or 20 minutes after commencing to cut, the great mast fell clean off into the sea and we felt much relief, as our vessel rolled less and it was much easier to steer her. The N. W. wind lasted until 11 o'clock at night, when it became almost a dead calm. So with the exception of those who were to steer the vessel and keep watch we all retired for the night, fatigued with the labours and anxiety of the day. I went on deck after the gale had died

away to have a look; when I saw the blue sky with stars shining, and the sea apparently in all its former smoothness, it seemed as if nothing had happened. For the first time since the previous day, I felt somewhat easy in my mind; but when I saw the old sail, torn, and flapping about the deck, the noble mast gone, and nothing but a ragged stump, 2 or 3 ft. high standing up from the deck, and every thing in disorder, I again became down-hearted. However I went forward, washed my hands and rinsed out my mouth, and gave thanks to the gods for our deliverance. There is always a little shrine on board a Japanese junk in the cabin just abaft the mast, but in time of danger it is not necessary to go to it, for prayers may then be offered in any place. After my devotions I went below and turned in for the night.

The first day of the eleventh moon broke fine and clear, with a bright sky and a light morning breeze. The sea had lost all its angry appearance and not a cloud was to be seen. Our crew got up early in order to clean away the wreckage, repair the sail, and put the vessel in some condition to get back home. After breakfast the men made a jury mast and set what sail they could. There was no land in sight, but we steered a course due North, as we supposed our country was in that direction, since we had stood to the southward all the previous

day. We saw lots of wreckage on the water, such as spars, wooden water-tanks, small boats more or less damaged, planks and broken timbers, which we supposed to have belonged to the several junks that were in our company the day before or on the night when the gale began. No doubt many of them had gone to pieces

After our jury-mast had been rigged and the canvas properly set, we all washed our hands and rinsed our mouths, and offered thanks to the gods for our deliverance and prayed to be restored to our homes.

A little after noon a sail hove in sight to the southward, under full canvas, and in about an hour's time she came up to us and passed on to the north, about five miles away. Some of our men suggested that we should make signals of distress in order to be taken on board of her, as she appeared to be in a much better condition than we, and her chance of getting back to our country was far greater than ours. But the majority of us did not favour the suggestion, since we did not know what condition she was in as to her hull and provisions; whereas our vessel was new and sound and had water and stores sufficient to last for several months. So we concluded not to make any signals or to try to transfer ourselves, but to stand by our own vessel and take our chances. We

made but little progress with our jurymast and sail, and at sun-down the wind died away to a calm. By this time the above-mentioned junk was out of sight. In the night, a short time before midnight, the sky became dark and cloudy, and in a few minutes the wind blew from the West with some force, so that we had to lower the sail and allow the vessel to run before the wind. Leaving three men to steer and keep watch, the rest of us went to sleep.

VI.

The morning of the 2nd day broke fine and clear, but the West wind continued and there was a considerable sea running. About the middle of the afternoon we sighted land ahead. We did not know what it was, but we steered straight toward it.

Third day, 11th moon. The weather was fine and the sea calm. At daybreak we were close to the land we had sighted the previous evening, and on its lee side. A large junk, dismasted, was in sight about 3 miles north of us. We believed it to be the one we had seen under full sail the day before, and concluded she had lost her mast during the night as the wind at times blew with fury.

We looked at the island for a long while to see if there was any smoke rising, but we did not see any, and from that fact we supposed it to be uninhabited. After breakfast we consulted as to whether it was advisable to land or not. Some thought it was best to land, while others were opposed to doing so. Those who wished to land gave as their reason that we had but little chance of getting back to our native country in our present condition, and said that we did not know

where we were. On the other hand the party who were opposed to landing said that the place might not be inhabited, since we had not yet seen any smoke; and besides, if there were inhabitants, they might be cannibals, for we did not know what the island was. (I afterwards learned that the island was Ogashima, one of the "Izu Shichito" or Seven Isles of Izu, the first and largest of which is Oshima, known to foreigners as Vries Island.) If we remained on board we might have a chance of meeting some other vessel, or of reaching some land that we knew, for we thought we had been drifting considerably towards the East since we had been dismasted; and knowing that we had provisions and water enough to last for several months, we felt safer on the junk. Thus the discussion went on, but nothing definite came of it, and the men were undecided whether to land or to remain on board. So at length they consulted the Captain, who said that if any chose to land they might do so, but for his part he could never even think of leaving such a valuable vessel and cargo in mid-ocean; he must remain on board, and either take the vessel back to her owner or die on her.

At this point (as was our custom in such a case of uncertainty) one of the crew went before the shrine in the cabin, prayed and took *mikuji*, (a

form of divination by a number of sticks, used to ascertain the mind of the *Kami*, "gods") to see whether it was advisable to land or to remain on board. The sign came out "to land," and this was reported to us where we were gathered together. Then another went to the shrine and again took *mikuji*, and this time the sign came out "not to land."

Owing to these conflicting *mikuji*, a sharp discussion arose among the officers and crew as to what we were to do. At last one of the officers took a final divination, and the sign came out "to land." So after this last *mikuji*, the majority were in favor of landing, since the gods appeared to direct us to do so, and they commenced to prepare for disembarking on the island. Some of the men went forward to lower the boat, and to make her ready, when the Captain came forward and said; "You may land, but I will not." The second officer, who was the Captain's nephew, on hearing this said:—

"If the Captain remains, I shall not land but shall stay with him."

Then the discussion re-commenced and while they were talking time passed, and the Western breeze came up with force, so that our vessel began to drift away from the island. This made it difficult and even dangerous to venture in the boat; therefore the idea of landing on that island was aban-

doned; and our vessel, running before the West wind, drifted off to the Eastward, and at sundown the island (the last bit of Dai-Nippon, although we did not then know it) was out of sight, for the wind increased as the day advanced.

Owing to the increased wind and sea, we had to get up early on the next day, in order to do something for the vessel. As it was, it required three men at a time to steer her when she was running before the wind without a stitch of canvas. After breakfast the officer and men consulted together and came to the conclusion that it was best to haul in the big rudder and drop two anchors at the bow. This would keep the junk's head to the sea and let her steer herself by reason of her weight. So we went to work and did as we decided.

After this was done, we felt much more comfortable than before, because the creaking of the rudder ceased and the junk rode at ease with the anchors at the bow to keep her head to the wind and sea. The men made everything snug and secure about the decks; then they all washed their hands and rinsed out their mouths, and we all assembled before the shrine where we offered up our prayers.

After that some laid down to rest, but others began to grumble and express regret that they had not landed on the island, since our chance of being

rescued was now very slight; but others said that if we had gone ashore and found cannibals, or no inhabitants at all on the island, we should have been much worse off than we were.

In the evening the wind died away, the sky was clear, the weather fine and the sea smooth, and that night we had a nice quiet rest. Nothing of any importance occuring in the meantime, on the morning of the 9th day of the eleventh moon, the weather continuing fine with a light Southerly wind, we set up the jury mast and made sail.

Not knowing where we were, we steered for the N. W. until the 12th day, when the weather became rainy. On the following day it cleared up with a strong Westerly gale which obliged us to take in sail, lower the jurymast, and let the vessel run before the wind. During that day we experienced several hail squalls for the first time. About 10 o'clock in the morning we had to jettison some of our cargo, for the sea ran so high that the vessel appeared heavy, and shipped water occasionally. We threw out some 400 bales of peas and barley; this made her ride the seas with ease, and we felt much comfort. It was one of the gloomy days, the time being passed alternately at the pumps and at prayers. It appeared to me that this was the worst day since the junk had been blown away to sea on the 30th of the preceding moon.

About sunset the wind abated, though the sea was still rough, and the waves ran high. We hauled in the rudder as before, dropt two anchors at the bow, and made everything as snug on deck and as comfortable below as we could. Then we went to supper, and afterward offered up prayers and then to bed.

The 15th day of the moon, the weather was fine, not a cloud to be seen in the sky. We saw several fish playing about the vessel, and caught some mackerel (*Sawara*), and others. Some we cooked and ate at once; those that were left we dried and salted for our future use. We also saw a number of albatross and sea-gulls. Some swallows and other land birds flitted about the vessel.

On the following day the weather continued fine, and as we had nothing special to do to amuse ourselves, some of us went forward, opened the hatch-way and unpacked some of the boxes which formed part of the cargo. We found some treasure, consisting of gold *kobans* and *nibus* and silver *bus* in packages, and *tempos* (copper pieces); we also found some walnuts. After we saw the latter we put away the treasure and took the walnuts to the cabin where we began to press out the oil in the old style, obtaining about a pint of it. Our oil-press consisted of a block of wood with a hole in the centre and small cuts at the bottom to let the oil

to run off. This stood in a metal-tray which caught the oil. The peeled nuts were roasted and then put into a hemp bag which was placed in the hole. A piston or round plug was tightly fitted into the hole and driven down by means of a lever across its top.

The next day the weather still holding fine, we decided to distil some sea-water by fixing the wooden cover over a large iron pot used for boiling rice. There were two grooves made crosswise inside the cover, against which the steam condensed, and by placing small cups on the sides of the pot at the end of each groove, we caught about a quart of fresh water in ten hours or so. But to boil the salt water in that way required a great deal of fuel, so we stopped.

On the morning of the 24th day of the moon, the weather was fine and the sea calm. But about noon, the wind came up from the westward and increased in force. We noticed several sharks playing about our junk. Some of our men were afraid of them, but others said that they were sent especially by the god "*Isobe*" to watch over our vessel's safety, since we had been praying to that god particularly. It is said that sharks are the servants of the aforesaid god.

The weather continued fine and the sea calm for the rest of this moon. We had nothing

to do, so one day—it was the first of the twelfth moon,—some of the men went forward, opened the treasure-boxes, and got some of the gold coins. They brought them into the cabin and commenced to play cards with the coins as stakes. They continued at this until late in the afternoon, some winning, others losing. But when the game was finished none of them gathered up the coins,—they left them scattered there and no one seemed to care for them. Like the true avaricious gambler, each was anxious to win from his fellows, although their days were apparently numbered; but realizing, when the excitement of greed was over, the utter uselessness of money to them in their plight they were quite indifferent to their winnings.

The 5th day of the 12th moon was another gloomy day for us. It had been raining since the previous day, but in the morning the rain ceased, and a strong westerly breeze began to blow; this continued to increase until it became a perfect gale. About ten o'clock in the morning we shipped a sea over the forward part of the vessel. It broke into the forecastle, so we had to run back into the after cabin. We all went to the pump and cleared out the water: then some repaired the damage, but some of the others (the eldest of our company) gave the junk up for lost altogether and would not work.

Others encouraged them by saying; "We are all safe!" Although I was young and small, yet when I heard the elders give up so, I went to the pump and helped the rest to pump out the water. About the middle of the afternoon the gale seemed to decrease, and by sunset it ceased and the sea soon returned to its former smoothness, when all hands went to work and made further repairs. When everything was as snug as we could make it, and the chafing-gear of our anchor ropes had been changed, we went to supper and afterwards before turning in for the night thanked the gods for deliverance from the gale of the day.

This gale was not so severe as the previous one of the 13th of the last moon, but the sea ran high and crosswise, which caused our vessel to roll and creak terribly. This made the men very uneasy about the safety of our junk.

15th day of 12th moon. The weather was fine; although there was some wind yet it was nothing to be alarmed about. We were talking and chatting in the cabin, when one of the mates went forward to look at the bow of the junk. He thought the head of the vessel had dropped off and he rushed into the cabin and reported what he had seen, saying "*Namu-Amida-Butsu*" and dropped on the floor of the cabin where we were. This

frightened us all and we ran to see whether what he said was really true, when, to our great joy, we found it was not the case,—as the bow of the junk was all right and nothing had happened. After the men had inspected the bow and other forward parts of the vessel, they returned to the cabin where the mate who had frightened us was, and began to scold him for making such a false report and causing such unnecessary alarm. They said that he was old enough to encourage the younger ones instead of frightening them. To all this he said nothing, but went into his quarters and did not even come to the supper.

A few days after this we observed a peculiar large fish, swimming close to our junk. We attempted to catch it, because we had never before seen or even heard of the existence of such a fish, but without success. This fish, we learned afterwards, is called the Sun-fish; it looked like the head of a big "*Tai*" (Japanese name for the *Serranus Marginalis*) without other parts of the body, and it floated, apparently, with much difficulty—turning first on one side and then on the other.

19th day of 12th moon. This was another gloomy day for us. It had been raining for a day or so, with a light southerly wind, but about 8 a.m. the wind began to haul to the westward and increased as the day advanced. About ten

o'clock the rain ceased, and when I went forward to look at the weather, I observed our two anchors at the bow, floating on the surface of the sea on account of the swiftness with which the vessel was drifting, driven by the force of the wind. Every now and then the waves appeared as though they would swallow us up. I was much frightened at the sight and I may say that this gale seemed to have been worse than any of the previous ones. We were all at our prayers the whole day, but luckily nothing specially unfortunate happened. About sunset the wind ceased, the sea became calm, and in the evening the sky was studded with stars, and everything looked as though no storm had ever raged. After the gale had abated, the men inspected the vessel to see if any injury had been done. They changed the *Suré* (chafing-gear) of the anchor proper, and then we all went to supper and afterwards said our prayers.

20th day of 12th moon. The weather was fine after the previous day's gale and the sea was as smooth as glass, with but a light morning breeze blowing. After breakfast the men went to work to lighten the hull of the vessel as we noticed that she began to creak more than we thought she should, and the nails seemed to have loosened greatly, owing, we presumed, to rolling so many days on the ocean without any rest. They brought out

some hemp ropes and with them tied the hull all round from the bottom outside, and tightened the ropes at the capstan—both crosswise and lengthwise. This work took us nearly all day. At this time some of our officers and men said that the junk could not last much longer, although she was new,—only a year old then. This was not at all comforting to us; still there was no help for it, and some said the only thing for us to do was to pray to our gods for speedy deliverance. How soon that deliverance was coming and in what strange form we little knew.

VII.

21st day of 12th moon. During the night the weather was fine and the sea calm, and the morning broke clear and beautiful. One of the men got up early, in order to wash and pray to the gods; and with this intention, he went forward before the sun was up. While he was washing his whole body with salt water and had turned to the West, or towards our own country (for we had been drifting towards the East ever since we were driven off our coast) to offer up his prayers to our country's gods, he suddenly observed something white, like a rock with a snow-capped summit right ahead of our vessel, for she was drifting sternwise. The man reported at once in the cabin where most of us were still in bed, that he could see some rock or island straight ahead. He said that we must have passed the place during the night, and in his excitement he said a lot more, which I have forgotten.

No sooner did we hear his words than everybody rushed out on deck to see what was in in sight, when lo! and behold! it was not a rock or an island at all, but the tall masts and white sails of a large vessel approaching us. The sun was

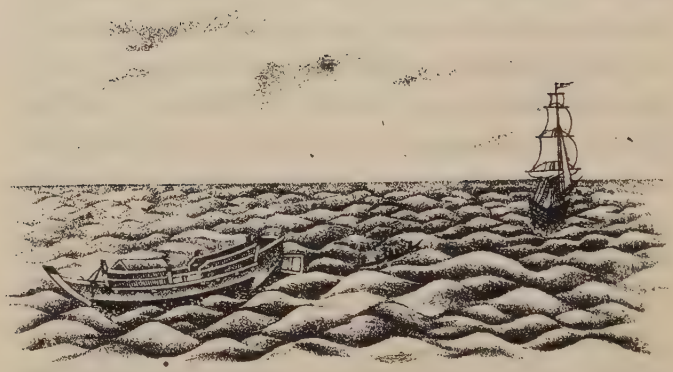
just rising and the light striking upon her sails made them stand out clear and white. While we were looking at the approaching vessel and discussing what she might be, whither she was going, and whence she came, she gradually approached our junk closer and closer, until her black hull which lay low in the water appeared, and then in a few moments more she was abreast of our craft. But the people on board of her seemed to take very little if any notice of us. We could now clearly see her form and discovered that she had three very tall masts, with a large number of yards to which were fastened a great many sails, besides other three-cornered sails which hung from the masts in different positions. The sails were all set. Her officers and crew were on deck and appeared to be very different from any people we had ever before seen, or even heard of. We were all more or less alarmed at the whole effect of the strange vessel so huge and black, and the strange creatures on board of her, who might be, for all we knew, no human beings at all. Still we felt that we must not lose this chance of saving ourselves; so we shouted to the stranger in our native language; "*Save us, Save us,*" and made signals with some old clothes fastened to bamboo poles. The stranger quickly recognized these signals and the men on board made signs with their hands to

"*Come off, Come off!*" By this time the vessel had passed under our stern, (for it will be remembered that we were drifting stern foremost with the drags out at our bow), and was about 500 to 600 yards distant, when she (the stranger) turned her head towards the north and presently stopped.

After we saw that she was waiting to save us, we began to prepare to leave the old junk forever. At this point some of the crew began to say that if the strangers were such people as we were told of in old story-books, it would not be advisable to go, and to make all sorts of foolish objections. But one of the ship's company, who had been to Nagasaki where he had seen the black vessels of the Hollanders, said that the strange vessel must be a Hollander either going home to Holland from Nagasaki, or on its way to that port from Holland, Others said whether Hollander or not, it made no difference, for our vessel would not last more than seven or eight days longer, so we must take this chance of saving ourselves, and go aboard the stranger.

Even the undaunted spirit of the Captain had given up the idea of remaining on board the old junk until death relieved him from his responsibility, for fifty odd days of experience such as we had had, were quite enough to cause any person however strong minded to welcome rescue when it offered.

In half-an-hour or so, our boat was lowered and the necessary preparations made, and we stood ready to bid adieu to our old vessel.



When the boat was in the water, the crew hurried the Captain and myself and made us get into her first, he being the oldest of the party and I the youngest. Thus it happened that I did not take anything with me but just the clothes I had on and a few coins that were in my "*Kami-ire*." The Captain's nephew, the second officer of the junk, got some bedding and a few clothes for the skipper, After the Captain and I were in the boat, the rest

immediately followed, excepting some greedy old fellows who had gone into the cabin and were gathering together everything they could lay their hands on ; some even went forward to the hatches, and tried to take out the coins I have mentioned. While they were doing this, we who were in the boat waxed very impatient, and at last when the boat was jammed against the side of the junk and nearly smashed, we shouted out that if the others did not come in a hurry we should leave them. On this they left unfinished what they were doing and came into the boat with their clothes and bedding only. After all hands were in the boat we parted company from the old junk and sculled away towards stranger.

As we approached her, she turned round, or "tacked" and came towards us to meet our boat, and get on our weather side; when she was near enough to us, one of her crew threw us a line from her bow, which our men caught and fastened to a pin. This brought our boat alongside the ship on her lee-side. At this time we observed that the stranger made herself stand still (hove to) as though she were at anchor in port, by means of her sails. To us it seemed that the forward sails were set to catch the wind from that part of the ship and the other sails (mainmast) were set to catch the wind from the after part of the ship. Thus she stood per-

fectly still in mid-ocean. This method of handling a vessel struck us as being most wonderful, and we talked about it a great deal both then and afterwards.

As soon as our boat was alongside, we scrambled one by one on board. The Captain and officers came to the gang-way and received us. We knelt down, put our hands together, bowed our heads in the usual form of our salutation, and thanked them for their kindness in thus saving us. They led us to one part of the ship—the quarter deck—and when we got there, the Captain made signs which we took to be an inquiry as to whether we had any goods, curios, water, or precious metals left in our vessel. We replied by signs that we had—plenty. He seemed to understand what we meant, for he consulted with one of the other officers, and in a few moments that officer and two of the crew got into our boat, left the barque and began to scull towards the junk.

They went about a third of a mile, and then the craft became unmanageable on account of their being unaccustomed to handle such a large boat with sculling oars in the Japanese fashion. As they could neither go forward nor come back but remained in this situation for a long time, the Captain became impatient, wore his ship, and approached the weather side of the boat. When we were within some hundred yards or so of her, he

made one of the crew cast a line tied to a piece of board. This one of the men in the boat caught, and then they were hauled back to the barque without reaching the junk at all. The Captain ordered the mate to take out all oars, loose boards, etc. belonging to our boat, and then she was cast adrift. After that the barque squared her yards and resumed her course toward the East, and as the wind gradually freshened to a fine breeze, she slid along the water very nicely.

I have said that the vessel which we had got on board had three masts. Two of them had yards, and the third had only a peak-yard to which was fastened a kind of a three-cornered sail. The ship lay low on the water, was painted black, and had a crew consisting of a Captain, two mates, six men, a cook and a boy. The appearance of the officers and men was all alike to us; most of them wore beards, flannel shirts (some dark and some red), and black pantaloons with suspenders across their shoulders. The Captain had on long boots into which his trousers were tucked; most of the rest wore shoes, but some were in their bare feet, even in that cold weather.

The Captain was lean and tall, had sandy hair, beard, and moustache; was about forty years of age, and wore clothes similar to those of the rest of the crew. He had something in his mouth

(a cigar) at which he puffed continually, and sometimes he blew smoke out of his mouth as he walked to and fro on the quarter deck.

The first officer was a large man 6 ft. 2 in. in height, about thirty-five years old. He had black hair, but a beardless clean face, quite white, with red lips, and looked more like a woman than a man. He was dressed like the Captain except that on his feet he wore shoes. He had something in his mouth (tobacco) which he continually chewed, and he was for ever spitting.

The second officer was a small man, about 5 ft. 3 inches in height, with red hair, and a sandy beard and moustache. He was about forty years old, and was dressed like the Captain and first mate. He was very quick in his motions, and we found him to be kind in the extreme, talkative and inquisitive.

The boy in the cabin was about seventeen years of age. He had dark hair, and a nice, clean, beardless face, and wore a dress similar to that of the rest of the crew, but was without suspenders to his trousers, and had no shoes on his feet. He looked to us more like a girl than a man or a boy. He was great at climbing, for he always went up aloft to handle the sails on the very top yards (royals).

The crew were of the same appearance as the mates. The vessel had a cook who was very

different from all the rest in his dress and hair, and looked more like our own people. He wore broad pantaloons, and a wide-sleeved upper garment cut short. His head was shaved on all sides and on the top, excepting in the centre of the crown where the hair grew very long, and was plaited and wound around on his head. He spoke a different language from the rest. He was short of stature, and about forty years of age.

All the men looked very rough and odd and we were somewhat afraid of them, notwithstanding that we outnumbered them, and that they were kind and attentive to us. For we had never beheld such creatures before or even heard of such; and their appearance and dress were so entirely different from ours and so strange.

VIII.

After the barque had been put upon her proper course, and the excitement of getting us on board had subsided, the Captain summoned the cook to the quarter-deck. He came to where we were, bringing with him a writing brush, India-ink and paper, and at the Captain's order he wrote something on the paper in Chinese characters. This we read "Gold mountain." Then he wrote something more but we could not make out anything except "Rice," "Interest" and "*Ka*" to increase or add, and did not at all understand what was meant.

When he wrote "Gold mountain," he pointed to the ship. Some of our party said this meant that the vessel was called by that name, for we did not truly comprehend his meaning, viz: that the vessel was bound to California, the country of gold mountains, until we reached San Francisco long afterwards.

After the cook had finished his writing, the Captain of the barque came to our Captain who

was the oldest of our party, being then over sixty-one years of age, and made a sign to him to follow. So we all went and he led us towards the main hatch, which was covered with a tarpaulin. Pointing to the hatchway, he made a motion of eating, and spoke the word "plenty:" and from this place he led us further on to the Cook's galley, where were several water casks lashed on both sides of it; these he tapped with his hand, made a motion of drinking, and repeated the word "plenty." He smiled, and in reply we bowed. These signs and his manner we understood to mean that the vessel had enough provisions in the hold and plenty of water for our use, so that we need not be afraid of either eating or drinking.

After he had showed us these things, we came back to the quarter deck. Here we squatted down and looked back at the old junk, thinking that in the evening the vessel which had picked us up would reach her destination, since we had been on the wreck for so long a time as fifty-one days, and during that period we thought we must have drifted thousands of miles. By and by the Captain beckoned us to follow him into the cabin. It was the first time that we had ever seen such a nice, clean, beautiful, cozy little cabin. It was built of handsome woods, panelled and varnish-

ed; there were velvet cushions on the side seats —but we were much surprised to see that there were lots of chests piled up in the cabin, all packed full. He motioned us to sit down; some did so, some remained standing up, and some squatted on the floor. In a few minutes the second Mate, who had spread a chart on the table, began to explain something to us. But of the various places to which he pointed, the only name that we could understand was "Ah-me-ri-ka" since some of our men had heard that several years before (in 1846 or thereabouts) the American warships, "*Columbus*" and "*Vincennes*" had come to Uraga, and they remembered the name of the country from which they came.

The Mate first pointed out a large tract of land and said "America," and at the same time pointed to the ship. From this we understood that the vessel belonged to that country. The next country he pointed to was a small spot; he said "Japan," and "Jeddo," and pointed at us. This we did not understand exactly, but supposed that he meant this to be our country, although the name he used was wrong, for we never knew our country by such a name, and the spot on the chart seemed altogether too small for Dai Nippon (since we were told and taught to believe that our country was large). He then pointed out a large tract of land,

West of "Japan," and pronounced the name "China." We did not understand what country he meant, because we never had heard of such a place as "China," for amongst our common people, and in fact amongst all Japanese, the names by which we called China were "Kara," "Nanking," or "Tō-goku."

After he had pointed out China, he pointed to a lot of small islands to the southward, and made signs that the inhabitants thereof eat men. When we heard this, we became somewhat afraid of the strangers and some of our companions raised the question as to whether this might not be a forewarning for us, and whether, in case our voyage happened to be a long one, and the provisions gave out, the strangers would not eat us? Owing to this some of us talked together and left the cabin and went on deck, where we discussed the contingency. Some thought they *might* eat us, but others said the vessel had provisions enough, since the Captain had pointed to the hold a few minutes before, and as we had been drifting for fifty days or more, it could not be long until we reached the land.

After the Mate had finished showing us the chart all went on deck. Some of us strolled about to see everything, and all that we saw was new and strange. Others squatted on deck—looking

back towards the old junk—and talked of the vast change in our feelings between the time when we were on the old vessel, and now, when we were on the strange ship.

When our men observed the compass and saw how easily the vessel was steered—by only one man at the wheel—we all admired her construction, and spoke of how nicely and minutely the compass was divided into 32 points, while our own had but 12. One thing that surprised us very much was the difference between the number of men employed on this vessel and on our own. Ours was much the smaller, yet by regulation or custom we had sixteen officers and men, and always required from two to three, or even five persons at the tiller, according to the condition of the sea, while this, a much larger craft, had a crew of only eleven officers and men, all told, and one man at the helm seemed sufficient to steer her. The masts and sails, too, astonished us; our junk had but one big mast, and a single yard, on which was one large, awkward sail, at times very difficult to manage; while the barque had several masts, and a number of smaller yards to which were fastened many nicely cut sails which were easily and conveniently handled.

One of our men went up to the steersman and inquired, by signs, how many days it would be

before the barque reached her destination. The man seemed to understand what our friend wished to know, and made some signs with his hands, one arm, and his head. He rested his head upon his arm to indicate "sleeping" and put up his fingers to show "forty-two" to signify that we should have to sleep forty-two times, which we understood to mean that it would be forty-two days before we reached port. We could not believe it at the time, but it happened to be exactly forty-two days before we arrived at San Francisco. Our reason for not believing the man was that we had been over fifty days on the wreck, drifting daily. And we thought we must be thousands of miles away from our country; and because we were so far from home we thought we had reached the neighbourhood of some strange land and had been picked up by one of its vessels coasting, as we were accustomed to think of our own vessels doing. We never knew that any vessel could sail without seeing the land for so many days, and therefore we thought the land must be near and the vessel's destination not very far off.

Before very long our old vessel—the junk, was out of sight. At a little before midday the Captain and Mate of the barque brought on deck some instrument through which they looked toward the South several times. By and by the Mate

said something to the man at the wheel, and he at once struck the bell by his side eight times; in a few seconds the big bell in the forward part of the ship was struck the same number of times. The Captain and Mate then went below with their instruments.

When we saw what the officers did with the instruments we began to guess what it was for. Some of us said that the land could be seen through them; others said that that could not be, but that they looked at the Sun to measure its distance, or that they measured the time. We concluded that the latter was most probable, because they ordered the man to strike the bell, but although we had long discussions none of us could guess correctly,—not knowing that they took the altitude of the Sun to determine the Latitude.

The men forward now went to dinner, and the man at the wheel was changed. At about half past twelve the cabin boy came up to where we were all sitting on the quarter-deck and made a sign to me to come down into the cabin. So I followed him and he led me into a small room—his pantry. There he gave me a piece of cake-like stuff (soft bread) upon which he spread some oily substance (butter) and on the top of that he put some brown sugar. He signed to me to eat it, and at the same time he gave me a plate of soup, and

then he went forward to the cooking-place (galley) to get other eatables for the Captain and Mate, who were having their dinner in the cabin. I took up the bread and began to eat it, when I smelt a very strong unpleasant odour. This stopped me from eating and I put the bread into the sleeve of my outside garment, and commenced to take the soup. That tasted very nice, since it did not have such a strong smell as the bread had. It was made from beans, salt meat, and fried bread cut into fine dice-like pieces which floated on the soup and made it smell very *kō-ba-shi-i* (nice, fragrant, odorous).

When the cabin boy came back from the galley he asked me if I had eaten the bread, and I replied by nodding that I had. I quickly went on deck in order that I might throw the nasty stuff into the sea—which I did without anyone observing me. No sooner had I come on deck than my companions one and all asked me what the boy wanted me for. I told them what he had given me to eat. I said that I had to throw away the bread on account of the unbearable smell (of salt butter), but that the soup was mighty nice. Then one of our party asked me what was in the soup, and when I described it, he said that the flesh-like things in it were probably cattle-meat, and if that were so, I had committed a great sin in eating it and, in consequence, I should be obliged to abstain from pray-

ing to our gods or worshipping them, since we were taught that any one who ate the flesh of four-footed animals has to abstain from praying, visiting temples, or making any offering to the gods for at least seventy-five days from the time; this was on account of animal flesh being considered unclean.

After I heard that, I felt very sad and began to think "What shall I do? The good gods have saved me from a watery grave, and I cannot pray to them, or return thanks to them, or do anything to show my gratitude?" However, the deed was done, and there was no remedy but to abstain from praying to the gods as the man had said must be done. Still, this did not seem to satisfy my conscience in any way, and I was wondering how I could find some remedy, when a happy thought crept into my mind and I remembered a saying that I had often heard from the lips of old people at home, viz.: *Shira-nu-ga hoto-ke*, equivalent to "bless the ignorant" or "that which is done in ignorance has no harm." In this case I did not know what it was I had eaten; had I known it was animal's flesh, I would not have touched it. With this thought in my mind I went forward, drew a bucketful of salt water, washed my hands and rinsed my mouth, and turning towards our country (the West) I prayed to the gods of Dai-Nippon (Great Japan) to forgive the sin I had unwittingly

committed. After I had done this my conscience was somewhat consoled and I felt much better.

The Captain and Mate, after they had finished their mid-day meal, came on deck. The former lighted a cigar, and the latter put some tobacco into his mouth and began to chew and to spit. They walked to and fro on the deck. This custom of walking we had never observed in any place before, and did not know what it was done for, therefore a discussion about it arose among ourselves. Some thought that they were walking to measure the speed the vessel was making, but others said; "How could one ever measure the distance by merely walking on the deck?" Neither party would give way to the other, and as no satisfactory conclusion was reached the matter was dropped.

After the men had had dinner, the Captain gave orders to prepare our quarters. He assigned six of us to the room which was vacant in the cabin and into this our old Captain, our three junior officers, one of the crew, and myself were settled. The rest, eleven in number, were provided for in one of the ship's boats. There were two of these on the deck just abaft the galley. The men turned one bottom upwards over the other and stretched a piece of canvas sail over both to prevent any water from coming in. They laid the planks which they had taken out of our old boat

on the floor of the lower boat, and on these our people placed their bedding, thus making a nice cabin and very comfortable quarters.

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Captain ordered the cook to serve out our rations for supper. These consisted of boiled sweet potatoes, yams, ship's biscuit ("hard tack"), butter, salt meat, and coffee. These, together with a large tub of boiled rice we had taken from the junk, made our first meal on board the barque. But we did not touch the meat and the butter. After supper, we offered prayers and then went comfortably to bed feeling, for the first time in fifty-one days, quite safe.

Early the next morning we got up and after remembering to heartily thank our gods for their protection we sat down to breakfast. We saw that the weather was unchanged from the previous day, that all the sails were set, and the yards nearly squared, and that the barque was going merrily along.

Not long after we had finished breakfast, the Captain went forward with the same instrument he had used at noon the day before, and began to look towards the East, or where the sun was. We thought that he was looking for the land ahead as we had heard that in Holland such powerful glasses were made that one could see things thousands of miles off; and it was a common saying among the

people of our country that that kind of glass attracts distant views and brings far-away objects near by reason of the power of the glass. The Captain looked through the instrument for a few seconds. Then he called out some words which the cabin boy who stood at the entrance to the cabin, repeated to the Mate who was in the Captain's room looking at some other instrument, and he made a reply in a similar tone. This was done three times and then the Captain came back to his cabin with the instrument he had been using. After this the Captain and Mate looked into a printed book (*almanac*) and seemed to calculate something and then they wrote in another book. This we learned afterwards was what is called taking an observation to determine the longitude, just as on the previous day at noon they had done very much the same thing to learn the latitude.

While the Captain and Mate were calculating and talking we discussed among ourselves what they were probably doing, and some of my companions said that the instrument was a wonderful glass, such as I have described above, for when they were at Nagasaki some years before, they had learned that in foreign countries, especially in Holland, such glasses were made. So the Captain must have seen the land ahead, and he knew where we were. This was how it was that foreigners

could sail on the high seas for days and days without seeing the land and yet reach their destination all right. When the Captain and Mate had fixed the latitude and longitude, the Mate brought out a large book, in which he wrote something which he copied from a stone board (i.e. *the log-slate*). We had much conjecture and discussion as to what the Mate was doing, and some of my companions thought he was writing, or copying down the number of waves he had taken notice of while he was on watch, for the English writing seemed like the waves, up and down, and running sidewise. But others maintained, as they had done before, that the writing was to note down the distance the vessel had made during the previous day and night, which was measured and counted by the deck officer, or watch, and the Captain by walking the deck backwards and forwards. We learned afterwards what it was that the Mate was really doing.

In the forenoon, while we were on deck looking at the ship sliding nicely along the water, with yards almost squared and all sails set before the westerly wind, the second Mate came to us with a large book (*Atlas*) under his arm and squatted down beside us. He opened the book and began to explain something pointing to the picture of a large tract of land—and saying "America, America," and then pointing to himself and to the

ship. This we understood to mean that the ship and he belonged to that country, so we nodded. Then he smiled and seemed much pleased at our understanding him. Again he pointed to the vessel and then towards the East, or ship's head, and said "California." This too we understood; that the vessel was bound to a country called by that name. So we smiled and nodded again; but just at this moment he was called forward for some duty, and he went off, and our lesson was suspended.

The next morning, while we were taking breakfast, lo and behold! the very man who had frightened me so the day we got on board the barque about the crime of eating the flesh of four-footed animals, himself began to eat the salt beef which was served to us. He said that although it was not right, according to our country's customs to eat, or even to touch such unclean food, yet "when one comes to '*Go*,' he must do what '*Go*' does," (i.e. Do in Rome as the Romans do) and so saying he plunged his knife and fork into the meat, cut away a piece and ate it, and relished meat ever afterwards more than any of the rest of us. After I saw him, and others too commencing to eat meat, I felt more contented and happy about the matter of my having eaten some that first day, and my conscience ceased to reprove me; still for a long time I did not touch any meat.

IX.

A little before noon the second Mate brought some old clothes out of his room and made a sign to me to come and take off the Japanese clothing I had on. I obeyed him, and he put on me a flannel shirt, a pair of cloth trousers, and a cloth jacket. All of these were of course much too large for me, although he was smaller than the average man of his race. He marked the clothes here and there with some white stuff (chalk) and told me by a sign to take them off again. This I did, and he took them away to his room to alter them by cutting and sewing. By the next afternoon he had completed the alterations and I put the clothes on again, when he found that they fitted me nicely. He looked at me and exclaimed, "Now you one Yankee boy!" and he smiled. I did not understand what he said at the time, but I remem-

bered the sound of the words and afterward I learned their meaning. This was the first time in my life that I had ever put on foreign clothing, and I felt much tightness about my body; still they were much warmer than my own garment, besides being more convenient for working. I thanked the Mate by nodding and bowing for thus making me a comfortable dress. Then he patted my shoulder, said, "all right," and beckoned me to follow him to the cabin, which I did. When we entered we found the Captain and first Mate seated and busily writing. The second Officer said something to them and at the same time pointed at me; they looked at me and smiled and the Captain came up to me and shook hands, at the same time saying something which I did not understand, except that they both said at the end "very nice."

On the following morning, while we were all on the quarter deck talking amongst ourselves my new friend—the second Mate—came to me and said something; pointing at my head and pulling his own hair. I did not know at all what it was that he said, but I nodded—thinking that perhaps he meant to say my hair was darker than his, or that he wore his hair in a different style from mine. No sooner did he see me nodding at him, agreeing as he supposed, to what he said, than he went to his room, and in a few seconds came back

with a pair of scissors and a stool. He signed to me to sit down upon it.

I did so and he then cut off my top-knot, and clipped my hair short all round my head. Then he brought sweet oil and rubbed it into my hair, and combed it and brushed it. When I saw the scissors, I wanted to stop his cutting off my top-knot, in that whilst on the wreck I had made a vow to our gods that if ever haply I might reach our native-land in safety, I should offer that top-knot up as an offering. But I was afraid to stop him, on account of not understanding his tongue, for he might misconstrue my meaning even as he had misunderstood what my thoughts were when I had nodded a few moments before.

But what that Mate had just done vexed me sorely. Though he had been kind and had acted with no ill intention on his part, still he had no right to cut that top-knot off,—that top-knot which I had vowed to the gods, if perchance I should once more get back to my country. And now before ever that vow could be fulfilled the stranger goes and cuts it off!

However I reflected that had we known each other's language this misunderstanding would not have happened. Wherefore I went forward and washed my hands and my mouth and prayed to the

gods and begged their forgiveness for the sin that had been unwittingly committed.

26th day of the 12th moon. About 9.30 a.m. we heard a loud screaming forward, so we went to find out what was the matter. To our amazement and horror we found that Chinese cook in the very act of killing one of these pigs on board for food! Such a thing we had never witnessed with our eyes before, although we had heard that in some of the far-off provinces of our country such as Satsuma and Loochoo the people ate pigs and rats. But we as dwellers on the mainland and religious men never did such cruel deeds.

After seeing the gruesome work of that Chinese cook, we began to talk among ourselves and to be afraid of the strangers. One of our elders solemnly shook his head and affirmed that if our course across the deep should be long these strangers would assuredly fall upon us and slay us and devour us.

29th day of the 12th moon. The weather began to change for the worse. Rain came down and the light wind from the S.S.W. increased in force apace as the day advanced. At 11 o'clock it was a gale. Then the rain ceased and presently the wind veered to the West and it became fine. Then it became necessary for the ship to heave to. This manœuvre was a great novelty to us and as sailor-

men we all watched it closely and with great interest. The barque took in all her sails, and set a three-cornered sail on the main-mast below the main-yard, and reefed the jib and let the vessel come up to the wind. One man only was at the wheel, while all the others went below, some to sleep and others to read as though nothing was going on. And the vessel rode the sea with ease without any creaking whatsoever till the gale died away. What a difference between our old junk and this barque! We were all lost in astonishment and admiration at the beauty of the manœuvre.

A few days after this, when the weather was fine and calm, the Captain ordered the men to open the hatches to let air into the hold. Then we looked down into it, and we saw that she had an abundance of eatable cargo such as tea and sugar and rice and biscuits. On seeing this we felt much more at ease, and our old fear of being devoured disappeared from our minds altogether.

2nd day of 2nd moon. The day broke calm but cloudy. At 10 o'clock the cloud-banks disappeared, and a west wind came whistling up. Then with all sails set and yards nearly squared we stood on for our destination. About 3 p.m. it again clouded over. Then some of the crew reported land in sight on our port. The Captain went aloft to the main-top with a spy-glass and looked to-

wards our port-bow. Wherefore we supposed that the land was near at hand and our hearts were glad at the thought of gazing upon it again.

During the night the weather cleared, but being so near port, the vessel was compelled to heave to till day-break. Then she set sail again and stood for the harbour of San Francisco.

Next morning we were early astir looking eagerly for the land, for we had not seen it for nearly 100 days. About 7 a.m. we were near the entrance to the port. Several vessels of all classes were standing in and out while numerous smaller craft with three-cornered sails were rushing about like racers. These were pilot-boats I was afterwards told.

Soon we were within a few miles of the Golden Gate. Two of the little craft above mentioned (pilot schooners) bore down upon us. On board of them were several persons dressed differently from anything we had seen, in tall black hats. One of them on the schooner nearest to the *Auckland* called out something to our vessel through a trumpet, and the Captain of our barque replied. Shortly after the schooner lowered a boat and a gentleman and a sailor got into it. It pulled toward us and in a few minutes it was alongside, when the gentleman came on board and the sailor pulled back to the schooner.

Our Captain went forward and shook hands with the new comer. The latter brought lots of papers which he handed to the Captain, and both went on the quarter deck. In a few minutes more the new man took charge of the vessel, while the Captain went below and began to read those papers he had got from the other. We did not know then what these documents were, but we afterwards heard that they were called newspapers. By this time the schooner had hoisted her boat on board and sailed out seaward while we stood on in toward the port.

The stranger who had just come on board was dressed in a suit of black, with a great gold chain dangling in front of him just below his chest. His head was covered with something that looked like a black box with a wide bottom. I afterwards was told that this was a beaver hat. He was a large well-built man, with dark hair, a thick bushy beard running all over his face, and black eyes and seemed about 45 years of age. He spoke quickly and in a loud resonant voice. He had a trumpet under his arm, and whenever he spoke or gave an order to the men he spoke through that trumpet. He walked briskly to and fro on the quarter-deck with one hand in his trouser's pocket, and looked as if our ship and everything on it belonged to him.

About 10 a.m. our good old barque came to

anchor at the North Beach close under Telegraph Hill.

Just before we anchored several little sharp built boats with one or two men in them came alongside. These men were dressed just like our sailors, in flannel shirts and cloth pantaloons. They looked somewhat rough in appearance, some smoking pipes and chewing tobacco and spitting continually like our first Mate. These, we were told, were boatmen by trade.

As soon as we came to anchor, the Captain made ready to go on shore. When he came to say good-bye to us we did not recognize him. For he had washed and shaved, and dressed himself in black cloth from head to foot, with a great gold chain on his vest and a tall black box on his head like the pilot, and altogether he had become very grand and very wonderful.

In a few minutes he was off in one of the small boats, and we saw him no more until a week thereafter.

As we were just about to anchor another boat came alongside. This was painted black, and had a crew of five men with two officers. These latter were dressed like the pilot all in black with tall hats. The boat flew a peculiar flag with vertical red and white stripes and with an eagle dyed or painted in at the upper corner. When the officers

came on board our Captain and Mate received them and conducted them to the cabin where they had some drinks. One of them stayed on board while the other went off in the boat in which they had come. This boat belonged to the Custom-house of the port and these two gentlemen were the officers who had to watch on behalf of the revenue of the country, *i.e.* to see that no cargo was landed without a proper payment of duty. About 2 p.m. another boat came alongside. In it were two men in flannel shirts, cloth pants, felt hats and suspenders over their shoulders to uphold their pants. They looked strong and healthy and seemed rough and very common class. They were exceedingly curious about us and came up and tried to talk to us, and although they could only make signs to us, they stayed with us for some time.

They had some conversation with the Mate and crew, and presently they asked us by signs to go ashore with them, indicating at the same time that they would bring us back. But none of us felt willing to accept their invitation as we were all more or less afraid of the uncouth appearance of these strangers. However at last one said that if two or more of the others would go, he would go too, and thereupon three of our party went with them.

After this boat had gone several boats of the

same description and with similar men came alongside and stayed for a short time and then went away. We were afterwards told that these folks were called stevedores and that their business consisted in loading and unloading cargo.

About two hours after our companions had gone ashore they came back bringing with them pies, fresh bread, and cakes which the strangers had given them. They reported quite favourably of the city and of what they had seen there. All the people whom they had met had treated them very kindly, especially the two men who had taken them ashore. After hearing this many of us wished to go to see the city, but our own Captain Manzo warned us not to be in a hurry to do so.

On the fourth day after our arrival the barque was moored near to the Long Wharf. In the morning a heavy fog settled on the surface of the water, so that we could not see more than a few yards ahead. And this fog continued for months. Since our arrival in port our fare had become much nicer, inasmuch as fresh provisions were supplied and served out.

In the afternoon a boat similar to the Custom-house boat with a crew of four men and a flag at the stern came alongside. In it were two gentlemen with gold bands on their caps and brass buttons on their coats, while one of them had a

sword. These we were afterwards told were the Captain and an officer of the revenue cutter then in port. The Mate received them and conducted them to the cabin where they had some drinks, and talked for a few minutes. Then they came on deck and approached us. They looked at us, talking all the time with the Mate, and pointing to our dress and feet, but of course we could not understand what they were saying. They then passed forward, now and then looking into the hatchways.

At length they went away, and a few minutes afterwards another similar boat came with two gentlemen in black suits and tall hats. When they came on board they did exactly as the others had done, and then the Mate led them round and showed them everything. These gentlemen were from the Custom-house, and one was the Deputy Collector of the Port, Col. Green. These were more civil than the others who had come on board thus far; they came up and shook hands with some of us saying as they did so "How are you?" This sounded to us "*Kawai*" which in our language means love or sympathy. When we heard this word we fancied they understood our language, and some of us began to talk to them. But they gave us no direct reply, except that now and then they smiled.

When they were ready to leave one of these

gentlemen signed to me that he wished me to go ashore with him. And as I did not understand him, he spoke to our Mate and he came and told me by signs that if I went with the gentleman he would buy me a pair of shoes, for I was still wearing old sandals. So I signed that if he (the Mate) went also I would go, for I was still averse to trusting myself to an utter stranger. This the Mate seemed to comprehend and he went and dressed and we went off in the same boat with the visitors.

In about 10 or 15 minutes we had landed and walked up to the town. Here for the first time I saw what a foreign city was like. The streets were broad and paved with stones and tiles, with side-walks for foot-passengers, and the centre of the way for horses and wheeled traffic. The houses were much larger than in our own country, some of them two or three storeys high, built of brick and stone, and though some of them were of wood, still even they were large and spacious. There were numerous shops of all kinds, with goods displayed in large glass windows, hotels, restaurants, drinking places, horses, carts and carriages. And all the people looked busy and the place seemed lively and prosperous. And in fact it appeared to me much like the City of Yedo with the exception of the carts which were here drawn by horses in-

stead of by men or cows and bullocks as they are in our country.

As we walked up the street from the Wharf, I observed over 50 men with chains on their legs all working hard at digging and carting the earth from the hill close by. This I afterwards learned was called the "chain-gang." It consisted of criminals serving their terms for the various crimes they had committed. As I gazed at the carts passing, I was greatly frightened to see a black object driving a goods-cart or dray. It wore a blue and red flannel shirt, dark blue pants, long boots into which its pants were stuck, suspenders over its shoulders, a red comforter round its neck and a felt hat on its head. Its black face and white teeth and huge red lips, which formed such a contrast with its soot-like face were fearful and dreadful. I thought it was not human, and fancied it must be more akin to *Oni* (a Devil) than anything else. Though I had heard of the existence of folks with short bodies and long legs and arms, yet I had never heard tell of such a creature as this. Wherefore it came into my mind that it could be nothing but *Oni* (the Devil) And if it was so he must come from *Jigoku* (Hell), as we are taught that in *Jigoku* are many red, and black and white *Oni*. And if such was the case *Jigoku* must be near. Thus thinking I gripped the Mate's hand

fast and looked at the black man steadily until he had passed safely out of sight.

By this time we had reached a shoe-shop. We entered it, and the gentleman said something to the shop-keeper. Then he brought several pairs of boots and shoes and the gentleman signed that I should put them on. I tried one or two pairs and at last one pair which fitted me nicely. Then the stranger felt my feet and asked me how that would do. I nodded "All right!" Then he paid for the shoes and told me to keep them on. After this we walked across to a bar, or drinking-place where I saw cakes and pies besides. Here the Mate and the stranger took a drink together, and gave me some cakes and pies to eat. I ate some and kept the rest for my companions. By-and-by the stranger bade us good-bye. I thanked him for the shoes and we parted, and the Mate and myself returned on board. When I got the new shoes on I felt quite proud of them. When I got on board I told my companions of all that I had seen, and especially about the object that looked so like the *Oni* we had seen in pictures of *Jigoku*.

A day or two afterwards, the *Auckland* moved up to the inner wharf to discharge cargo. She came alongside a large old-fashion-built ship which had been converted into a hulk. Into this our crew began to transfer our cargo, and we (the Japanese)

went and lent them a hand in doing so. In about a week the cargo had been nearly all discharged, and then the Captain of the hulk came on board the *Auckland*, and explained to us by signs that in a day or two he intended to take us on shore to see the grand dances, and that on that occasion we must put on our native dress.

In another day or two we were told to wash and shave, and those of us who had foreign clothes were requested to change into our own garments. (By this time several of us were dressed in foreign raiment given to us by charitable strangers). So we did as we were instructed, and at sundown all were ready.

After supper, we were taken in charge by the Captain of the hulk and went ashore. We reached the Ball-room which was a large two-storey brick building, situated at the corner of Kearney street and another street. We were conducted upstairs by our friend the Captain, and ushered into a room of about twenty-four feet by eighteen, with velvet cushioned chairs, a sofa and handsome window curtains, and with a large mirror on the side of the wall.

Here we were told to seat ourselves. So we all sat down opposite the mirror, when to our great surprise we found that several of our countrymen were already in the room. Seeing this some of us

began to wonder how they had got there. We concluded that it was to meet them that the Captain of the hulk had brought us ashore, and that it was in consequence of this that we had been requested to don our native garb. Some of us were just on the point of opening a conversation with them, when we discovered that there were no such people there at all and that what we fancied to be Japanese was nothing but our own images reflected in the mirror. Of course our mistake was perfectly natural, since we never had seen or heard of such a large mirror; for our own mirrors were quite small, the largest of them being not more than 12 or 15 inches in diameter.

There was another room adjoining the one we were sitting in. This was used by the dancers as their dressing-room, for we saw them change their clothes, paint their faces and put on masks. We saw some females put on men's clothes, while some men arrayed themselves in women's garments.

About 8.30 p.m. we heard a great commotion just outside this room. The noise was fearful and hideous, as if drums were being struck, and bells and other contrivances sounded. I discovered afterwards that this came from the band. The thing was a great novelty to us, inasmuch as it was the first time in our lives we had ever heard such an uproar in a house. And one of us would say

to another, "What a fearful noise these foreigners make!" while others surmised that it must be their music.

Whatever that noise was, it was not at all pleasant to our ears, and all us were deafened by the din, while some of us got severe headaches in consequence of it.

A few minutes after the music had struck up, our friend the Captain came to us and signed to us to follow him. We did so, and he conducted us through a side-door into a large room which looked like the stage of a theatre. The floor was of wood, with long benches in a row, and a blue curtain in front. Here the Captain told us to sit down on the benches. When we were seated facing toward the curtain in front of us, we heard a great noise of talking and laughing on the other side of that curtain.

We remained quietly seated for a few minutes when some of my companions began to get angry. And one would say to another:—"This Captain of the store ship pretends to be our friend, but he is not. For he has brought us here to make a show of us and to make money."

So some of them started up in hot passion, meaning to quit the place, but our own Captain stopped them, and pacified them by saying that we were under obligation to the strangers by reason of their picking us up and feeding us, and that

therefore it was not a serious matter if they did make "show" of us to make money.

In the midst of our Captain's remarks the curtain was drawn aside, when to our great surprise and amazement we found ourselves in front of a perfect sea of faces. They all looked at us with eager eyes for some minutes, and then turned to each other talking and laughing and gesticulating. After we had sat quietly for about five or ten minutes the Captain of the hulk said something to the crowd, and then by signs gave us to understand that we were to leave our seats and go about in the Hall.

So we all descended among the crowd, who eagerly beckoned us to come, and in a few minutes we were scattered all over the hall. The room was brilliantly lighted with gas, the crowd, (of both sexes, children even being present) was splendidly dressed. I noticed cake-stands and a "bar" for drinking. At this bar there was a large black man waiting on the guests. He was dressed to a tee, in black swallow-tail, white shirt, and a huge collar standing right up to his ears, with a white apron in front of him. The contrast between his black face and white collar and apron made him the most conspicuous figure in the hall, and I looked at him with fear and wonder.

In the centre of hall were huge pillars, and

around these I observed several round tables, not unlike the *Tomi* (gambling-tables) of our country. At some of these females presided, at others men.

A little after 9 o'clock the dancing commenced. It was a grand affair. Some years afterwards I was told it was a Masquerade Ball, got up by the people of the city.

A young gentleman of about 25 or 30, conducted me round the Hall. When we came to one of the tables presided over by a girl of about 20, he produced a silver coin (25 c.), and told me to place it on the dial of the table wherever I liked, and turn the stick. I put the coin on one of the letters and then turned the stick. When the stick ceased revolving its head rested at the place where I put the coin. Then the girl gave me 50 cents over and above what I had originally put down, and then my new friend told me to put it all wherever I thought best and to turn the stick as before. I did so, and I seemed to have won again, for the girl added to my money the double of what I had put down. The young man told me to repeat it once more. I did so, and to everybody's surprise I won again. Then the young gentleman said it would be better to stop and to put the money into my own pocket. I did as he signed to me to do, and walked away with him to see the rest of the hall. He gave me cakes and coffee at one of the

stalls, and soon afterwards he shook hands and bade me good-night, and in a few seconds he was gone to my regret. And who he was I have never known even to this day.

All of us had been conducted through the hall by the strangers, receiving various presents in the shape of money, pen-knives, rings, breast-pins and eatables. Of these my share was the largest, viz: $15.50 c. in money (including what I had gained at the table), 7 pen-knives, 10 or 11 gold and silver finger-rings and 3 scarf-pins,—one of them a diamond pin which was given me in exchange for some half-*bu* and *nibu* gold pieces.

A little after 11 o'clock our friend the Captain came and took all of us to a saloon below the hall where tables were set. Here he gave us supper, and after that we walked back to our vessel and retired with full contentment.

Next morning as I was handling my presents and counting my money the first Mate observed me and coming up said something to me. At the same time he pointed to the shore, to my clothes, and to the money I was then counting, and to his own clothes. From this I understood that if I went ashore with him, he would buy me other clothing. So I nodded and he said "all right."

When evening came we went ashore and wended our way to the city. We came to a street where

there were several drinking saloons, and the Mate entered one of those and beckoned to me to follow. He went to the bar, called for a drink, lit a cigar, and entered into conversation with the bar-keeper and with some people seated in the front room. He told me to sit down on the side settee. Presently he had another drink and then two females came from behind the bar with whom he chatted away and in a few minutes they all began to dance to the music of a violin which the bar-keeper came out and played for them. At the end of the first dance he had another drink and a smoke, and then there was another dance and so on till about twelve.

Then he came and asked for my money. I handed it to him, and he paid for all his drinks and cigars with it. Meanwhile I sat in my corner, looking on half-asleep, taking no interest in the proceedings whatsoever. A female of the place brought me some pie, cakes and a cup of coffee. She began to chat, but I did not understand a word she said, and felt more inclined to go to sleep than anything else.

At last I went up to the Mate and asked him to go home as it was getting late. Besides the man had misled me for I understood him to mean that he was to buy me a coat and vest with my money, instead of which he had spent it all to pay

for his drinks and cigars, at which I was greatly vexed. At this point he said "All right," and paid the bill, and we started for our ship and got on board about 1 a.m.

When I appeared my companions asked me where I had been and why I was so late. I told them what the Mate had said to me, and how he had misled me. At this they all waxed very wroth, and promised to help me to recover the money he had taken from me. Next day two of my companions and myself went to the first Mate and asked him for the money he had taken away from me the night before. He pretended not to understand what we wanted. But when we kept on persistently signifying to him by signs that he had to return the money he at length went into his cabin and opened his clothes-chest and brought out a China-made dark-blue crape summer frock-coat which might have cost him about $3.50 c. in China, and handed it to me to put on. And he was a man of 6 ft. 2 in. and I was a Japanese boy of 13 or 14, but this old coat was all I got in return for my $15.50 c. After this we began to mistrust that first Mate.

X.

A few days after, the barque was ready for sea, and we were taken charge of by the Collector of the Port (Mr. King, we were afterwards told). He had written to Washington about the disposal of our party. The Government had sent back orders to have us kept on board the Revenue Cutter and for good care to be taken of us. The Washington Government deemed this a fine opportunity to negotiate a Treaty of Amity with our country (Japan) by taking us back in a man-of-war, to ourselves tell our Government about America and the American people. With this view we were kept about a year in San Francisco at the Government's expense; and in the meanwhile Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan (1853) was being equipped. A day before our transfer, the Captain of the *Auckland* came on board and told us that as his vessel was ready for sea, the Custom-house

authorities would take charge of us and that we were to be put on board the Revenue Cutter *Polk*. He told us to prepare ourselves, and we obeyed his orders.

Next afternoon, a boat with five of a crew, and an officer wearing a sword and with gold-bands on his cap came alongside. It flew a flag similar to that of the Custom-house. Then we said *Sayonara* to the Captain, officers and men of the barque, and thanked them for all the great kindness we had received at their hands while on board.

When we got on board the *Polk*, her deck officer came to the gangway and welcomed us. He tried to shake hands with us, each and all, but some of us were afraid to approach him on account of the appearance of the vessel. She was very different from the old barque, since she had guns and handspikes ranged around the masts, and was built of iron over an inch thick, while all her officers and crew wore a peculiar kind of dress. From these circumstances we took her to be a regular war-ship.

By way of salutation we fell on our knees and bowed to the deck and prayed before the deck-officer and the one who had escorted us on board. While we were doing so, the boat's crew were transferring our luggage from the boat to the ship's deck and thence to our quarters, which were on the berth-

deck between the ward room and the men's quarters.

Just then a large stout man appeared on deck. The officer said something to him, and then this man turned and signed to us to follow him to our quarters.

This stout man was the master-at-arms. He was a kind good-hearted fellow; he was an Irish American and was called Thomas Troy.

He brought some thick mattresses and new blankets, and made our quarters very comfortable. After we had stowed away our luggage we went on deck to have a look at our new ship. What a fine large vessel she appeared to us, and how cleanly and trimly kept! She was an iron-ship of about 600 tons, barque-rigged. She was commanded by Capt. Hunter of N. Y.; had 5 officers, a purser, a doctor, a cook, two stewards and a boy and about 50 or 60 of a crew.

The crew were very kind to us; when we went on deck they thronged around us and showed us over the vessel. They also tried to teach us, pointing to the various things on deck and naming them by their names. The following day, the regulation clothes were served out to us. These consisted of dark-blue cloth jackets and pants, the former with brass-buttons. Of these brass-buttons we were quite proud whenever we went ashore;

by reason of them we deemed ourselves American *yakunins* (officials). We met with nothing but the utmost kindness from all on board. In fact according to our notions we were treated over-well, and one day a great discussion arose among us at to what the object of the foreigners might be in so dealing with us. And one would say to another that the strangers were fattening us for their future meat, and another would say that that surely could not be. Then our wise old grey-haired Captain Manzo put in his word and spoke quietly. He was going on to say that what they were saying was wrong and was doing an injustice to our benefactors, when one fellow interrupted him rudely and bluntly asked "What object then do they have in treating us in such a way?"

And after a second our Captain answered gently, but I could see that there was indignation deep down in his breast. "These men," he said "are simply good and charitable people, and are kind to us, because they know that we have lost everything and that we are strangers in a strange land, and helpless as the year-old infant in that we understand not nor speak the speech of their land."

And we gave heed unto his words, and all said it was in truth shameful to suspect the strangers, and we soon found that wise old Captain Manzo spoke only the truth.

As we had no work to do on board the *Polk*, the time waxed irksome and tedious, and besides we deemed it exceedingly wrong for us to be doing nothing. So one day we held a consultation as to how we could do something good towards the Captain and the crew in return for all the kindnesses we continually received. And we thought it well that all the youngest and most active of us should go and help and wait on the officers. To this we all agreed, and told the Master-at-arms, and he communicated our wish to the Captain and the officers. They were all delighted and accepted our offer. Tora, Kame and Shin went and helped the ward-room officers, while I was taken by the Captain to wait on him, and the others assisted the sailors in cleaning the decks and such-like work.

In return for these services we now and then received presents in the shape of clothes, shoes and pocket-money from the Captain and the officers. In about a month, all the boys and the stewards left the ship, and we took over their duties, and continued to discharge them until about a month before we left the good old barque.

The Master-at-arms was very fond of us, and used to come round to our quarters whenever he had time to spare, in order to teach us English, and to be taught Japanese, as he had thoughts of

some day visiting our country. He told us that since he had read about Japan in Geography at school, and also about St. Francis Xavier, he had always wished to visit our country and may be to live and die there.

Our people were delighted to teach him Japanese, but were very averse to learning his language. This was on account of a law of our country, which exposed those who knew anything about foreign countries or languages to being put in confinement by the Government.

One day Lieutenant Thompson bought a spelling-book and Thomas an easy reading-book and gave them to me. For some days they came and gave me lessons, and I was very anxious to learn. But when two of the elders of our party knew of this they came and told me that I must desist from learning English, or any foreign language whatsoever, if I had any mind at all to return to our country. For if I learned a foreign tongue and went home, I, and they also would be put into confinement, besides suffering a very serious punishment, the exact details of which they were not certain of. When I heard this, being a mere boy and not knowing much about the matter I became frightened and told Thomas and the Lieutenant that I did not wish to continue my lessons. And from that time forward I did not attempt to learn English

whilst I was with the rest, which was a great drawback to my interest.

During our stay on board the cutter we had no other amusement beyond going ashore on Sundays to wander through the town and over the hills. On one of these occasions, while rambling among the hills, we came to an isolated building with a great fence round it. So we approached to see what it was. And to our great horror we found that inside that fence the natives were murdering cattle in the most cruel and merciless fashion. Then we said to each other:—"These barbarians (Mexicans) have no feeling or pity, and do not know what cruelty is." And so saying we hurried back to our vessel.

Somewhere in the February of the following year, the U. S. ship *St. Mary* came into the port of San Francisco and anchored there. One morning the officers and the men of our cutter told us that the vessel that had just come in had been sent out by the Government specially to take us to our native land. At this news we greatly rejoiced, and we immediately began to pack our little baggage, together with such things as empty glass-bottles which we had picked up from time to time. These were meant for our *miyage*, or presents to our friends at home. Then one day later on the Captain of the *Polk*, a tall big-boned man of 60 with

iron-grey locks and the kindest of hearts (A. Webster) came and told us through Thomas, who by this time understood somewhat of our language, that in a few days we were to be transferred to the *St. Mary*. That vessel was to convey us to Hong-kong where we were to join Commodore Perry's expedition to our country, and with it we were to return to our country. The Captain said he was very sorry to part with us, but on the other hand he told us he was glad to think we were returning to our families and our friends. That same afternoon all the officers came one by one to where we packing up our baggage and told us how sorry they were to part with us. For we had been with them and lived with them on the same ship for more than a year like one single family. They also expressed their good wishes for our future.

On the 11th March the *St. Mary* moved up the bay in the morning and anchored close to the city. In the afternoon she sent two of her boats alongside to fetch us. The Captain, officers, and men all came round and helped us to put our luggage into the boats. Then we said good-bye, and took our leave. And a very affecting leave-taking it was.

As we reached the *St. Mary* we noticed that she was not at all like an ordinary vessel. She was painted black, had full square yards on each

one of her three masts, and cannons showing their mouths through her port-holes, while at the gangways on the forecastle sentinels were pacing backwards and forwards with arms upon their shoulders. From all these things we know her to be a regular fighting ship.

In a few minutes we were on board and welcomed by her officers and men. After we had been shown the comfortables quarters provided for us, and had stowed away our baggage in the proper place we went on deck to bid farewell to our old friend the Master-at-arms who had come with us to see us properly placed and to bid us goodbye. We felt very sad at parting with him, since he was the only foreigner who had acquired any knowledge of our language. Besides his kindness to us all on board the *Polk* had been extreme. He too felt very sad at our parting. He wished with all his heart to come with us, but he could not afford to do so at his own expense. He had come to California to make money and was then getting good wages. Still his desire was to come and live in our country if possible and he was willing to make great sacrifices to do so. But as he could not do it then at his own expense, he look his leave saying "Good-bye and God bless you."

The *St. Mary* carried 22 guns and a ship's company of 220 men all told. Owing to her war-

like appearance we had much discussion as to how our future would be affected by being taken home in a warship. We asked each other earnestly if she was to take us directly to our country. Because if she did, we should be surely punished by the Japanese authorities, for they would suspect that we had advised the Americans to send us in a man-of-war in order to frighten our Government officials.

The *St. Mary* was to have sailed on the 12th, but for some cause she was detained until the 13th. This gave us time to make another visit to our old friend the *Polk*. On this occasion we told the Captain that inasmuch as we did not understand English, and as no one on board the *St. Mary* spoke a word of our language, and as besides all the people of that vessel were strangers to us, we were very anxious that the Master-at-arms should go with us. Upon this the Captain at once asked Thomas if he was willing to do so. Thomas replied that he wished nothing better, but that he could not afford to give up his present post and go at his own expense. However, if the Captain of the *St. Mary* would give him even ordinary seaman's wages ($12 per month) he would throw up the position he then held—it brought him some $50 or $60 per month—and go. So the Captain wrote to the Captain of the *St. Mary* about the

matter, and the latter agreed to allow Thomas what he asked. Thus the Master-at-arms consented to accompany us and got ready at once, and we all returned to the *St. Mary* with joy in our hearts.

About 7 a.m. of the 13th March a rousing breeze sprang up from the S.W. and the *St. Mary* at once weighed anchor. While this was being done we were allowed to be on the quarter-deck where we squatted down on the nice clean planking and looked on with the utmost interest.

The Captain and the first Lieutenant walked to and fro on the quarter-deck, the latter with a trumpet under his arm—directing the officers and men, and whatever the men did was done in unison. The anchors were hoisted by the capstan to the music of drum and fife, and then at one order all the sails were let loose. And so all the sails were hoisted together at one word, sheets were all spread at one word—every order was carried out simultaneously. This, our interpreter Thomas told us was "man-of-war style."

In half-an-hour's time we passed our good old barque the *Polk*. Her Captain, officers and men were all on deck waving their handerchiefs to us by way of wishing us "farewell and good-wishes." We returned their salutation, and in a short time we were fairly out of their sight and through the Golden Gate.

XI.

We soon discharged our pilot and then we stood on for the Sandwich Islands.

About April 3rd, we sighted Owahi, the largest of the group, where Captain Cook was killed by the natives in 1778. About 11 a.m. we came to anchor in Hilo Bay, and there we stayed for a week.

On the morning of our arrival, our Captain Manzo died,—he having been ailing for the past six months and under the care of the ship's doctor both on the *Polk* and the *St. Mary*. He passed away very quietly early in the morning, on April 3rd, 1852, at the age of 63.

When we anchored, we began to make preparations for his funeral. We bathed his body, shaved his head and face for the last time, and dressed him in new clothes. We obtained a large

box (coffin) in which we placed him, and had all our preparations made by noon or shortly after. Then we were furnished with a boat in charge of a midshipman, and in it all of us went ashore with the body. It was a glorious calm day, with the sea as smooth as a sea of glass.

When we reached the shore the natives crowded to the beach around in such dense throngs that at first we were somewhat frightened. But they had only come partly out of curiosity, and partly to assist at the funeral. They joined our train, and also showed us the way to the public grave-yard. Here we laid the last remains of our respected old Captain Manzo. We placed a large stone over the grave, and kneeling down we offered up a prayer. And then we all arose and came away.

For the rest of the day we rambled all over the hills and town of Hilo. The area of the town is large, but the buildings are few, consisting chiefly of huts scattered all over ground. The island is exceedingly fertile; fruit grows wild there in great abundance. The sea is alive with fish. The natives are quiet and good and kind; after missionaries went there, many of them became Christians and learnt to speak English. In appearance, they are black, with dark eyes, straight hair, of medium size, and wear few or any clothes to speak of. Although the bay or port of Hilo is only an

open roadstead, yet the anchorage is said to be good.

After remaining there about a week, we sailed for Hongkong and arrived there about May 20th, 1852. *St. Mary* stayed there two days and then she weighed anchor and made for Macao, where we expected to find the American squadron.

We arrived at Macao at night, and found a large paddle-steam frigate at anchor there. This was the *Susquehanna*, the flag-ship of the U. S. squadron in the East. She carried the flag of Commodore Aulick (of Washington City).

Next morning our Captain called on the Commodore, and about 11 a.m. the Commodore, the Captain and some officers of the *Susquehanna* came on board the *St. Mary*. Our Captain received them, and afterwards there was gun drill. Then the Commodore and his staff-officers were shown all over the ship by our Captain and first Lieutenant. They came to where we were, and stopped and made some inquiry about us through our interpreter Thomas. They then went to the Captain's cabin where they stayed about half-an-hour. At the end of this time they returned to their own vessel, the *St. Mary* saluting them with 13 guns as they left.

In a few days we were to be transferred to the *Susquehanna*, as the *St. Mary* was on her way

home, after a visit to the Fiji Islands where she had been to negotiate with the natives on the matter of some American sailors who had been killed and eaten by the natives in the previous year. And on her way she had received orders to carry us as far as China and there hand us over to Perry's expedition. But as Perry had not arrived, we were to be transferred to the China squadron.

About the beginning of June the *St. Mary* set sail homeward bound. It was with great regret that we had left her, for the officers and crew had been kindness itself. As the *St. Mary* slid along and passed the *Susquehanna* the men of the flag-ship gave three cheers. These were returned by the crew of the *St. Mary*, and in a few hours she was out of sight. And we all were very sad for we felt as if we had just lost a very dear friend.

A few days after the *Susquehanna* left Macao for Hongkong. Here we remained for several weeks. And the weather became sweltering hot, and we suffered terribly. For the quarters provided for us on board the flag-ship were extremely cramped and unpleasant. And the ways of the officers and men of the *Susquehanna* were not as those of the officers and men of the *Polk* and of the *St. Mary*. For the *Susquehanna* people were rough and unkind

to us. And the reason for that we found from Thomas to be this:—

The *Susquehanna* had been for long upon the China Station, and had become accustomed to deal with Chinamen. Now the Chinese are a greedy and a cringing race, and to make money will submit to any treatment,—even to being kicked and beaten like beasts. Wherefore the people of the *Susquehanna* fancied that we were folks of the same spirit, or rather want of spirit, and they treated us in the same fashion as they treated the Chinese.

But in this they were wrong. For in our childhood we had been taught that man must respect man as man, and not treat him like a beast. So this treatment caused some of our elders to become very vexed. But notwithstanding we could not help it. For we had no right to complain since we were at their mercy. And even if we had had the wish to complain it would have been unavailing. For our interpreter knew very few words of our language, and we knew scarcely a word of theirs. Wherefore we kept silent, but anger began to smoulder in our breasts.

One evening in July the heat became so stifling as to be all but unbearable. So some of us went on deck, and threw ourselves down on the space between the paddle-boxes where some sailors were lying stretched out. We fancied that there

could be no harm in doing this, inasmuch as we were certainly in no one's way. But when the eyes of the officer of the watch fell up us he shouted out something in a loud voice. Then he kicked us with his shoes and pointed down for us to go below. Thus we were driven down to our quarters on the berth-deck like a herd of swine. This made us very wrathful. But that was all. For, on account of the reasons before-stated we could make no complaint to the Commanding officer, and even if we did, the interpreter said he thought no good would result. Wherefore after this not one of us wished to remain on board the *Susquehanna*.

One Sunday we got leave to go ashore. And in the course of our wandering we came to a joss-house in the Chinese quarter. The priest saw that we were strangers and he kindly asked us to come in. So we entered and he treated us hospitably, giving us tea and tobacco. And because we could not speak each other's language we communicated by writing; for although Chinese and Japanese are pronounced in a fashion utterly different, yet the written characters are the same.

We asked the priest whether there was a road from Hongkong to Nanking, and if so whether we could not get there overland, if we wished to. To this he wrote back to say that there was a road, a good one, though the distance was great. And he

signified that he would give us a passport, which would carry us safely to the city of Nanking, inasmuch as the people on the way would help us when we showed the passport issued by him, he being a holy man.

Upon learning this, we then and there consulted together. And some of us said that it was better to go overland to Nanking with the priest's passport than to remain on board the frigate to be treated like beasts. Wherefore they asked the priest for the passport. And he immediately wrote on red paper in large characters and handed it to our party. And at the same time he instructed us as to the way we should travel, naming in its turn each town and road they should follow after leaving the opposite shore toward the interior highway.

Then we thanked the priest for aiding us and bade him adieu. We went and called on Mr. Rikimatsu, a countryman of ours then residing in Hongkong. And at his house we consulted as to who should go and who should remain behind, in that the way was a long and a hard one for old men and boys.

And it was decided that the eight strongest and most robust of our party should fare overland to Nankin *en route* for our country, while the other eight together with Thomas should await the coming of the ships of Perry in which to return

to our native land. And it was agreed that whichever party reached our home first should report the safety of the others to their families and friends.

Thus the whole programme was laid out, and we did not go on board the frigate that evening, since our wish was to wish the other eight 'God speed' at to-morrow's sunrise.

Next morning the rain poured down, and the day looked of evil omen for starting on such a serious journey. But those eight men had set their minds on going. So at 8 a.m. they hired a sampan to carry them over to the opposite coast, and thus they left us.

When we got on board the *Susquehanna* the deck-officer asked us why we had not come on board the previous evening, and where our companions still were. We replied through Thomas that we had been invited by a countryman to dinner and had got belated, and so had remained at his house, and that the others would be on board presently. This seemed to satisfy the officer, for he seemed not to care much about our movements or what became of us, for we saw quite plainly that the people of the *Susquehanna* looked upon us as so much lumber in their way, and a burden upon them.

When we went below we told the men who had not gone ashore of all the happenings. When

they heard all they were glad, and prayed for the safety and success of the eight men who had fared forth to Nanking.

That same evening after supper some of us went on deck for a smoke. From the opposite shore a sampan came alongside, and in it we saw four of our companions from whom we had parted in the morning.

They were in a piteous state, almost naked, with only a shirt and a pair of drawers apiece. When they came on board we asked them what had befallen them, and they told us the following tale:—

The party had landed and threaded their way along the so-called road to Nanking as directed in the writing of the priest of the Hongkong joss-house. The said writing and passport were shown at intervals of a few minutes at all the way-side villages, and the villagers seemed to shew kindness in pointing out the road. The party went on in safety for about 12 or 15 miles, through an undulating country with villages scattered about among the hills and valleys. At last as they crossed one of these hills, and were descending into a valley, the inhabitants from all directions sprang upon them, and surrounded them with poles, axes, spades and knives. They gave the party to understand that they must surrender everything they had, and

take off everything they had on. Under the menace of instant death our companions were constrained to do so. They had only succeeded in saving their lives and a shirt and a pair of drawers apiece.

While the first four of the party were narrating their experiences, the other four came on board in an equally piteous plight.

We learned afterwards that the road our companions tried to follow led through one of the most notorious nests of thieves and pirates in the whole of China. And that was the end of the matter of that priest's passport and the attempt to reach our country overland by way of Nanking.

We had now no resource but to submit in patience to the harsh treatment of the officers of the *Susquehanna*. They did not know exactly what had occurred, for the party merely told them that on crossing to see the opposite shore they had been assailed by thieves and footpads who had forcibly dispossessed them of their raiment. But now the officers treated us even more severely than before.

Two weeks thereafter the vessel left Hongkong for a port not far from Macao where the commander intended to give liberty to his men as usual.

While lying there, our friend the interpreter

Thomas got tired of waiting for Commodore Perry's squadron. He wished to get back to California before the gold fever was over, to make money. One day he explained his purpose to me and asked me to accompany him, offering to pay all my expenses. He said that if I went with him I could learn the English language, and that in a few years Japan would surely be opened, and then I could go back without any fear. He pointed out that it was for my own interest as well as for the interest of the Government of Japan that I should return with a full knowledge of the foreigners' language.

But I was still young and did not know the advantage of what he proposed. So at first I declined to go since I was afraid to leave all my countrymen to go afar among strangers. He then asked me if I would go if he took one of my companions also. To this I said, "Yes," and then he selected Kame who after me was the youngest of the party. Then one called Tora asked Thomas to take him too, and he consented to do so.

We then discussed the matter with the rest of our company. Some of them said that it was wrong for us to separate from the party, while others thought it could do no harm and would be best, in that we might find some chance of reaching home earlier than by waiting for the ships of Perry. And the view of the latter party prevailed.

So one day we applied to Commodore Aulick for our leave and Thomas' discharge, and the Commodore granted our request.

Then we made ready and one day we hired a sampan to take us to Macao. We had said *Sayonara* to our friends, and were just descending into the sampan when one of our mates and some of our elders waxed jealous and made objections to our leaving them. So we concluded not to go.

But at this point the deck-officer asked what was being said at the gangway. Then Thomas explained, and the deck-officer said that as we had permission to leave "we must go and no delay about it." So we had to go perforce, and straightway we started for Macao.

We arrived there in due course, and took up our quarters at a hotel kept by a man named Frank, a very respectable Portuguese. This hotel was kept in excellent style, and we were cared for exceedingly well.

When we got to Hongkong we put up at a cheap boarding-house. This was because Thomas' funds were slender. However the house was kept in good order by a very respectable American. When he heard our story from Thomas he shewed us the greatest kindness and attention, and made us very comfortable while we were there.

In a week we saw an advertisement an-

nouncing that the British barque *Sarah Hooper*, an old vessel of about 400 tons, was to sail for San Francisco. So we went on board to see her; she looked pretty old and not in very good condition. However when repaired she would be strong. So our friend Thomas took passage by her at the rate of $50 for each of us. As she had no first or second cabin we had to go in the steerage. After a voyage of 50 days we arrived at San Francisco in the beginning of December 1852.

As soon as we had anchored our friend Thomas went on shore, taking Tora and Kame with him and leaving me on board the barque to look after the baggage. In three hours they returned, and reported that they had found our old friends on board the Revenue cutter *Frolic*, and that these had all expressed their pleasure at our arrival and had promised to help us.

Then we all went off and Thomas and I went on board the *Frolic*, where I was welcomed by Lieutenants Carson and Wilkinson who had been on board the *Polk* when we left her in the early part of the year for China.

Thomas requested these gentlemen to keep me on board till he found a suitable place for me on shore. And they willingly consented to do so. Then Thomas again went off with Tora and Kame to find situations for them. This was the first

occasion since leaving my native land that I had been left all alone without any of my companions near, and I felt very sad and lonely, notwithstanding that the officers of the cutter were old acquaintances and exceedingly kind to me.

However after a few moments I reflected that I must now play the man; we had left our friends over in China and come back here to work and to make money to the end that one day we might yet return to our far-distant home with our earnings. So since I was without any parent or relative to whom I might appeal for help, of myself I plucked up heart and faced the matter stoutly. And then I knew that from thenceforth I must look to myself, and this was the day in my life when my cares began, and from that time they have continued ever on.

XII.

Whilst thus musing in my bunk I was suddenly aroused by a trampling overhead, by the sound of orders hoarsely and gruffly given, by the shaking of sails and the listing of the vessel to one side. So I scrambled up on deck, when, lo! the *Frolic* was under weigh and just nearing the mouth of the harbour we had passed through that morning. I then discovered that the Captain had been ashore when I went on board. He had received a certain order from the Collector of the Port, whereupon he had come on board over-night together with a passenger, and had just got the vessel under weigh for Monterey, 80 miles down the coast.

We arrived at Monterey next day and stayed one night. Then we sailed for Kathleen Island with its beautiful land-locked harbour. There we remained a few days and careened the *Frolic*. Then we made for San Diego where we remained two days, and then we started on our return voyage *viâ* Monterey, where we anchored on Dec. 24th.

Next day was Christmas Day and the rain came down. The Captain ordered the men ashore to scrub the hammocks. They spent some hours in doing so, and some of them got tight with liquor. In the evening they came aboard and some of them began to fight for their share of "dough" (*i.e.* plum-pudding). One man in particular was amusing. He had come aboard at sundown, in a very unstable and knock-kneed condition, and had at once set a-clamouring for his "dough." The cook made answer that those who had gone ashore had had a good time and doubtless had had store enough of good things to eat there and therefore had no need of a share in the "dough." But the man called out the more that whether he had had a store of good things ashore or not, his share of the "dough" he would have, and went staggering all over the place loudly shouting "Where is my dough?" This was on the berth deck and the men in the hammocks could get no sleep by reason of his clamour. And one of them told him to "shut up." Then there was a fight betwixt these two men, and in the midst of that battle the officer appeared. And that officer put the tipsy man in irons, and fed him on hard bread and water till we arrived at San Francisco. And that was his share of the Christmas "dough."

Next day we sailed for San Francisco and

arrived there in due course. As soon as we anchored our good friend Thomas hastened on board. He was very glad to see me back safe, since he said that some of the local papers had reported that the *Frolic* had been lost.

I told Thomas that I did not care to remain on board a small vessel, for I had suffered much on the trip to San Diego. To this he answered that although he had been trying to get a good place for me on shore, yet so far he had not succeeded in doing so. He advised me to remain a little while longer till he found one, since he could not yet afford to defray my expenses ashore. For the good man had spent nearly all his money for our passage from China.

Thus I had no alternative but to stay where I was, and I remained on the *Frolic* till the following April. Then it appeared that a strife arose between the Captain and the officers with respect to my wages. The officers knew that I worked just as well as any American in a similar capacity, and held that I was entitled to some remuneration for my services accordingly. But the Captain would in no wise hear of this. He said that I did not know sufficient of the language to be of any service on the ship, and that food alone was payment enough for my labour. By reason of this speech the two Lieutenants were greatly vexed, and sent for Thomas and advised

him to take me ashore. They told him that if he could not get a place to suit me at once, or could not afford to make advances for me, they would be responsible for my board. This they did to vex the Captain, for they said that if I left the ship the "old man" would have to fill my place with another hand at full wages.

So Thomas consented to take the burden of my support again upon his shoulders, for those broad and honest shoulders of the good man's were now considerably lightened. He had found positions for Tora and Kame at $70 and $60 a month respectively: the former was on board the revenue cutter *Argus* at Benicia with Capt. Pease, and the latter on the surveying cutter *Ewing*.

Thus I left the *Frolic* for ever and went up to meet Tora at Benicia. There Capt. Pease was glad to see us and invited us to stay on board his vessel till he should find a place for me. And as for Thomas, Capt. Pease gave him his old post of master-at-arms at $50 a month to begin with.

A few days after our arrival Capt. Pease obtained for me a situation in one of the large boarding-houses at a salary of $25 per month. The work was rather heavy for a boy of 15, although the proprietor and his son often lent a willing hand to help me. But the Chinese cook used to secretly saddle me with his dirty work, and this thing I

did not like at all. So the Captain and Thomas got another situation for me in a nice genteel boarding-house kept by a lady and her two daughters. There were only five or six guests there,—all gentlemen of the first class, Thus the work was very light although the pay was $5 per month better than in the first place.

One evening I had leave from the proprietors to go and see my friends on the cutter. When I got on board, I found that the Captain had gone to San Francisco on business. So Thomas, Tora and I went on deck and began to talk of things in general, while looking for the coming of the Captain. Presently all the steamers had come up from 'Frisco *en route* for Sacramento. In a few more minutes we observed the Captain approaching accompanied by a stranger. And when my eyes fell upon that stranger my heart gave a great leap. For the man was dressed in the raiment of my native land, with a sword stuck in his girdle and carrying a bundle in a *furoshiki* (wrapper).

And Tora turned to me and with serious face whispered his thoughts into my ear.

"We did wrong in that we left our companions in China against their will. Now these men perchance have got to their homes, and have told the Government the story of how we parted from them, and now this is an officer sent to take us

back to Japan to pay the penalty of our wrong-doing."

So we were very much in fear on account of that man and his sword.

But when they came on board the Captain came up to us and told us that he had brought another shipwrecked countryman of our own that had been picked up by an American fruit schooner from the South Sea Islands. And he said that he brought him here with a view to aiding him, and to finding out more about his case from him through us. When we heard this we were greatly comforted, and fear disappeared from our minds.

We went up to the man who stood at the gangway. And he bowed towards us not knowing that we were his countrymen, for our dress and manner of wearing our hair were the same as the American. And when we addressed him and uttered ourselves in our native speech he opened his eyes wildly. And then he fell on his knees, and putting both his hands together, bent his forehead to the deck, and prayed to us to help him, even as we ourselves had done what time the barque had picked us up.

But we told him to fear not, and went on to say the Captain wished to know all the story of his being cast away. And on hearing these words he

seemed much relieved and sat up and told us of the happening of his misfortune.

He had been supercargo of a vessel of 1,200 *koku*, that sailed from Niigata in Echigo to Hakodate. While she was on her return voyage with a crew of 12 hands besides himself as supercargo, it had fallen dead calm in Tsugaru Straits between Yezo and the mainland and the set of the current had swept the vessel out to sea. Then when the wind had again come up and the ship had struggled to regain the coast, the rudder broke and the craft became unmanageable. Upon this she drifted away into the limitless ocean, and for four whole months she was the sport of the winds and the waves. Her cargo was salt fish, and beyond this of provisions there were none. So that in the lapse of time all her company died of disease and hunger; only the man himself alone survived. And the ship drifted on and on. At last when he was all but dead, and no sense left in him more, he had been rescued by some Americans and they had brought him to San Francisco.

This story was written down by Thomas, who handed it to the Captain and it was printed in one of the San Francisco papers.

As I was ready to go back to my place that night, Captain Pease told me to aske for leave of absence for a few days. He said the schooner

was going to San Francisco, and he wished me to go with him as interpreter. For it was in his mind to see the Collector of the Port in order to get for that man clothing and a means of support from the Government.

So I did as I was told and got leave, and went on the schooner, and arrived in San Francisco about the 2nd of June, 1853.

After breakfast, the Captain, Thomas, Jiutaro (the man) and myself went to the office of the Collector of Customs, where we were at once received by the Collector himself, Mr. B. C. Sanders.

Before we reached the Custom-House however I had to buy a new coat. So on our way we stopped at a shop and I selected a dark-blue cloth frock-coat, vest and pants which cost me $32 in all. Thus these clothes cost me more than a whole month's wages. But it was the first time I had bought clothes with my own earnings, and it was a proud thought for me to think that now at last I had clad myself with the sweat of my brow. Wherefore I was pleased with my purchase, although it cost me dear.

When I put these clothes on, I looked at myself in the shop-mirror time and again, and found that I seemed an entirely different being from the one that had entered the shop. And then our

native saying came into my mind "even the straw-figure depends on its 'covering.'"

The collector questioned Jiutaro on various matters, and I interpreted with the aid of the Captain and Thomas, they putting my words into good English. And when the Collector had done and finished his questions he granted all that had been asked and ordered the man to be kept on board the *Argus* until a fair chance of returning to his native land should offer.

As we were about to withdraw the Collector said something to Capt. Pease, at the same time pointing to me. Then through Thomas it was told me that the Collector wished me to come and live with him. If I went, he said he would send me to school and educate me. At the same time Capt. Pease earnestly advised me to accept this fine offer. So I replied that I would willingly come if I could get leave from my present employer. This Capt. Pease said he thought I could do easily.

I had originally intended to return to Benicia in the *Argus*, but now it was thought well that I I should hurry back on one of the passenger steamers. My employers were glad to see me back earlier than I had promised and asked me the reason of my speedy return. Then I told them all that had befallen and asked them for my leave. To this request the lady of the house replied that

she did not like to part with me, and that if it was a mere question of wages she would raise them to $40 or $45 a month. I thanked her for her offer, but said that it was no matter of wages at all; it was only my desire to avail myself of this chance of receiving an education. Hereupon she said that, if that was the true reason of my going she could offer no objection at all, and then she wound up by saying some very nice things about the way I had served in their house.

June 15th. On this day it had been agreed I was to enter the service of the Collector of the Port. So when we reached San Francisco Capt. Pease and I went ashore, Thomas accompanying us as interpreter. After the Collector and the Captain had had some talk they requested Thomas to tell me what my duties would be. These were to wait on the Collector in the office, to fold papers and file letters and go round with the gentleman whenever he wished me to do so. Then, after some good advice, Capt. Pease and Thomas left me alone with the Collector. He indicated by signs that I was to fold the old letters and file them, and I began to do so. I felt as if I had been made a gentleman all in a twinkling, and felt quite proud of myself for having had the luck to jump so suddenly from the sort of work I had been compelled to do before.

In the afternoon I was introduced to a large, gray-headed, clean-shaven man in a black suit and swallow-tail coat. And my old gentleman said to me, by holding up his thumb "That's a big man." I fancied that he referred to the size of his body, since it really was big in every way. When I was introduced, the man shook hands with me, stretching out a great fist which completely wrapped my little hand out of sight, at the same time saying, "How are you?" He also said something else the only part of which I understood being "Can you speak English?" This personage was no other than the famous Senator Gwinn of California.

About 3 p.m. the old gentleman signed to me to shut the desk, and I did so. Then we went downstairs where we found a carriage waiting for us. In this we drove to the private office of my new employer, for besides being Collector of the Port, the old gentleman carried on business as a private banker in partnership with a Mr. Branam. When we entered I was introduced to his son, who seemed about 24 or 25 years of age and somewhat delicate. Then the son introduced me to all the clerks, book-keepers and even to the porters. They all looked upon me with curiosity, being from Japan, and all were very kind and attentive to me.

About half-past-four we drove out to Mr. Sanders' home at the corner of Mission Road and

Kearney Street. He lived here in one of a number of beautiful detached cottages with flower gardens in front of them. He took me in and introduced me to his housekeeper saying that I had come to live with him and telling her that she must take good care of me.

About the beginning of July I was told to prepare to accompany the old gentleman to his home in the Eastern States. So I went to see Thomas and Tora and told them of the thing, when they both objected strongly and tried to persuade me not to go. They asked me what wages I was receiving per month. I answered that I had no special agreement, and that an education was the main thing I looked to. Then they said that I was acting foolishly in having no fixed agreement for wages, as the time for making money in California would soon be over, and that therefore I should make as much money as I could then. I answered that making money was all well and good, but my so-called work was really play, and in return for it I was getting pocket-money, board and washing, which was more than ample for what I was doing. However they insisted that I should not go East on any account. So when I came ashore I asked one of the clerks to tell the old gentleman about this.

Mr. Sanders immediately instructed a clerk to

see my friends and learn the grounds of their objection. It then came out that I owed Thomas about $80 for my passage from China and subsequent expenses. About this I myself knew nothing as Thomas had never mentioned the matter to me. The clerk promised that Mr. Sanders would pay this sum and told Thomas of his intention to put me to school in the East. Then Thomas at once agreed that it was best for me to go. I did not find out these facts until long afterwards, for with that noble-minded generosity which was so characteristic of the old gentleman he never said a single word to me about this transaction.

In the middle of July we sailed for the East *viâ* San Juan del Sue and arrived at New York on the 5th August 1853, and went to the Metropolitan Hotel.

Then Mr. Sanders said that his home and family were yet 200 miles distant and that he had to tell his people by a wire that he had arrived and that he would be there next day. He told me too that he would receive an answer to his message in about 20 minutes. This I did not believe; I thought he was telling me something not true merely by way of a joke, in order to astonish me. For he perceived that many things had excited my wonder. So I merely smiled and said nothing, and then he asked me to follow him; and I did.

We went down to the basement where we found an office and a man at the counter. Here Mr. Sanders wrote on a slip of paper and handed it to man. Then the latter began to operate on a piece of machinery which went on 'click! click! clicking' as he so operated. I watched closely but I could observe nothing save the clicking and the man's hands in motion. Then we re-ascended and the old gentleman took up a newspaper while I, being curious about the place, went round inspecting the various rooms with the pictures on the walls. Presently the clerk from the counter brought a message under cover. Mr. Sanders opened it and read it. He then explained to me that his message had reached his family and that this was the reply, which said that his brother-in-law would await our arrival at the Baltimore Station on the following evening. Still I could not believe it. For how could a message run along a wire faster by far than a bird could fly. It surely was impossible and the old gentleman was only making sport of me. However, when we reached Baltimore next day there *was* a carriage with his brother-in-law waiting for us. Then perforce I believed that his words were true.

We left New York next morning at 7 o'clock. On the way to the Depôt he told me we were to ride in a carriage drawn by a steam-engine, which could

go at the rate of 25, 40, or even 60 miles an hour. This, of course, I set down as another story told by the old gentleman to excite my wonder. However when we got to the Depôt I saw a number of beautifully fitted carriages with a steam-engine at their head. We took our seats in one of those, and while we sat there the engine began to snort and puff and the car to move. It moved slowly at first but presently it sped along so rapidly that what we passed could not be distinctly seen, while the train itself vibrated and undulated like a snake chased in the water.

At 9 p.m. we reached Baltimore, and found the carriage waiting, as Mr. Sanders had said. We drove to the residence of his family. Here I was introduced as a stranger from a strange land, and as perhaps the first Japanese that had ever been in Baltimore. They one and all received me kindly, looking upon me as a sort of curiosity.

About a week after our arrival in Baltimore my guardian had to go to Washington on business, and he took me with him. On the day after we got there Mr. Sanders told me that he was about to call on the "Chief Man of the Nation." What he meant by this I could by no means understand. However as he wished me to go with him I dressed myself in my best. He ordered a carriage and pair, and in this we drove up Pennsylvania Avenue.

We came to an iron railing, with a large square two storey building of marble standing in the middle of the enclosure behind it. Our coachman drove right into it and drew up at the steps. Then the old gentleman got out and walked up to the door and I followed him. He rang the bell and handed his card to the man who answered. This man asked us to enter and wait while he took the card upstairs. In a few minutes he returned and said "Please walk up."

So we walked up and entered a large hall, and from there we passed into a large room where Mr. Sanders told me the "Chief of the Nation" was.

I could see only a gentleman sitting writing there. He was dressed in a plain black suit, seemed to be about 38 or 40 years of age at the outside, was pale, lean, and of medium height, of very quiet appearance, and pleasant in features and in manner.

When he saw us, he got up from his desk, and came towards us a little as we walked up to him. He shook hands with my old gentleman, exchanging some words as he did so, and then Mr. Sanders introduced me to him saying that I was from Japan and that he had brought me from California to the Eastern States. Then this gentleman shook hands with me saying, "How do you do?" and told me to take a seat, pointing to a chair close by. But

out of reverence to him I did not do so; I bowed low and stepped on one side.

My guardian and he got into conversation while I went to the window and stood gazing out upon the scenery of the Potomac.

And at this point the colour of my thoughts was of this cast:—'Why does my old gentleman tell me such stories? What does he mean by saying that this man is the "Chief of the Nation?" The appearance of everything here seems against the truth of his words. Only the building is large and fine, being of marble, and there are also iron railings. (For in my country, then, iron was very scarce and exceedingly precious.) But there is no grand gate, no guard of soldiers, not even police on the outside. And as to the rooms of office, they are furnished with silk curtains and cushions on the chairs, but beyond that there is nothing to warrant the idea that they are those such a great man as the "Chief of the Nation" should live in. And then again the dress of the man,—just a plain black suit quite apiece with the one my old gentleman wears. And yet he tells me this is the Greatest Man of the Nation! What can he mean? . .

Why, if he really be such a great man, has he not retainers and the gate-way guarded by soldiers and his person surrounded by attendants? If he were the Chief of the Nation, surely my old

gentleman, officer though he is, could not approach him in this easy manner and sit with him and talk with him as if he were his equal. For in my country, why, even the smallest district official has more pomp and splendor about his person than this man has! Thus my thoughts ran on, since I knew not then the institutions of America and the manner of its Government.

At last my old gentleman had done and finished his conversation, and was ready to leave the President. So we shook hands and said *Sayonara* and withdrew.

When we were in the carriage I again asked my guardian who that personage was he had been talking with. He again said that he was the Chief of all the officials of the country and the Supreme Governor of the Nation. He said that he was called the President and that he was of the same dignity as the Emperor of Japan. Notwithstanding all he said yet I could not believe his words, and I was still in doubt as to the position of the personage in question. For how could it be that the head man of a mighty nation like the United States of America should live in such a simple manner without any pomp or grandeur, nay, even, without guards or attendants. For in my country not even a petty provincial official was without his train, and could not be approached unless

with much ceremony. And as for a Daimio or an Emperor,—! Yet the personage we had just seen was the Supreme Governor of all mighty America! I could not believe it at all.

XIII.

January 17th, Mr. Sanders had to go to Russia on some business connected with that country. So he called me aside and told that he should like to take me with him to Europe, but the better course for my interests would be to put me to school while he was away. On his return he said he would take me back to California. As to my present needs, his family and his brother-in-law would see to them just as he would do himself. When I heard this I felt very sad and sorry at the thought of parting from him, for by this time I looked upon him even as upon my own father.

A few days after he left I was placed in one of the Catholic Colleges kept by the "Brothers." Here I stayed till the old gentleman returned from Europe in 1854. My studies lay in learning to spell, write, and cipher, and in reading some religious books. My teacher, Brother Waters, was most painstaking and attentive while my fellow students were exceedingly kind: at each recess they would

come around me and teach me the language as well as help me with my lessons.

In six months the summer vacation came and I was sent with Mr. Sanders' children to live at a farm owned by his mother-in-law about 7 miles from the city. Here there were about forty negro slaves, the most healthy and cheerful people I ever saw. Their ways and manners were exceedingly funny; their dances in the evening used to interest me especially.

The day after my arrival the old lady ordered me a glass of milk fresh from the dairy, with sugar and a lump of ice in it. When the house-keeper brought it to me I asked what it was, and she pointed to the cattle in the distance and said cow's milk. So I declined to take it, inasmuch as in my country we had been taught to look upon all four-footed animals as unclean. The housekeeper went and told the old lady that I had refused the milk, and upon this the old lady came to me and said that the milk was good for me and would make me strong and that I must drink it. So I had to obey, as all were standing round watching me. And I drank that milk, and was greatly surprised to discover that it tasted so nice and soothing. And I began to think that there were many more good things in the world than I had dreamt of. From that time onward I have always been very fond of milk.

The first Sunday after my arrival we all had to go to Church. The old lady ordered a horse for me and a negro as a groom. This was the first time I ever rode a horse, and I enjoyed that ride very much and ever afterwards I rode whilst I was on that plantation. And I ever afterwards was fond of riding and when I returned to Japan my fondness for this exercise got me into strange and unexpected difficulties.

In above five weeks we returned to Baltimore, and a few days afterwards Mr. Sanders came back from Europe. He had been appointed Russian Naval Paymaster on the Western Coast of America. After this I did not go back to school as Mr. Sanders intended to start for California.

Nov. 1st, 1854. As our departure for California was near at hand, Mrs. Sanders, who was very ardent in the matter of religion, was anxious that I should be Christianized, or converted to the Christian faith and baptized before I left Baltimore. So I agreed, and one day I went with a lady who was staying in her house to the Cathedral. There we met Father—I forget his name—who ushered us into a closet, a little enclosed box-like place. Here he questioned me on various matters and points. Then he told me to select a name out of those he read from a book and repeated. Several of the names he repeated did not sound nice, and

all seemed to be the same. At length he came to, and read out the name of "Joseph." That sounded so pleasant to my ears that I at once said "that name will do for me." After this the Priest and all of us walked up to the front of the altar and here I was christened and baptized with Holy Water and received the above name of Joseph.

Two days thereafter we set out for San Francisco viâ New York and Panama and arrived at our destination on the 28th of November 1854.

Two weeks after our arrival I was placed in a school that afterwards became united with San Francisco College. Here I continued till the November of the following year. Then occurred the Great Commercial Panic of 1855, in which the San Francisco bankers suffered severely. Among others the house of Sanders and Branam was obliged to suspend payment, or in other words, to close up the shop altogether. This circumstance caused me great grief on account of my good old gentleman.

This meant an end to my schooling for a time. Then with the aid of another kind friend I returned to school for six months more. But he also was involved in the panic, and thus I had to leave school for ever.

Then I turned my thoughts to obtaining a situation in a commercial house in San Francisco.

So I went and asked my old gentleman to secure me some such post among his business friends. To this request he willingly assented, and in a few days he obtained for me a place in the house of Macondray & Co., and I entered their service on April 5th, 1856. This house was a large commission firm of four partners, with a manager and a large staff of clerks and porters, and received consignments from all parts of the world.

While thus situated learning something of business and perfectly satisfied with my place, Senator Gwin one day sent a friend to Messrs. Sanders and Cary (my friend and my employer) requesting that I should be allowed to accompany him to Washington. At first they declined, but as the Senator persisted in sending his friend with the request, they at last consulted and addressed a note to Senator Gwin asking him what object he had in view in wishing to take me to Washington with him: In reply he wrote as follows:—

San Francisco, August 3rd, 1857.

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your note of this date, I will state that I propose to take Heco, the Japanese boy, with me to Washington to act in the capacity of a clerk, and also if it could be accomplished to have him employed in the State Department preparatory to his being sent to his native country with such knowledge of our Government and such endorsement as will be of service to him when he arrives in Japan.

It will be sometime before I can get him a place in the State

Department and some difficulties may result from his not being an American citizen, but I do not anticipate that they will be of such a character that they cannot be overcome.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
WM. M. GWIN.

COL. B. C. SANDERS,
San Francisco.,

On receiving this letter they advised me to go with the Senator. So I made ready to do so, and leaving San Francisco on September 20th, 1857, we arrived in New York on the 7th of the following October, and took up our quarters at the Metropolitan Hotel.

One morning Mrs. Gwin came into my room accompanied by a gentleman and told me to go with him and get a new suit of clothes. I told her that I had plenty of clothes to last me for some time, and that I did not want any new clothes. She replied that the clothes I had were not suited to Washington Society, and that I must go and order a suit in the present fashion. Then she turned to the gentleman and said "Now Mr. C. you will please take him to the best tailor and shoemaker and order for him a new suit, shirts and a pair of boots, won't you?"

Then Mr. C. asked me to accompany him, and I went thinking that since Mrs. Gwin wished me to have a new suit, it was to be a present from the

Senator. So we went to Broadway where a suit was ordered and a pair of boots bought. The clothes came in due course before we left for Washington. They fitted me to a nicety and I thanked Mrs. Gwin and the Senator for them.

About a week after our arrival in the national capital the Senator published in the local newspapers a letter from Mr. Sanders to the Senator written before we had left California. This letter gave an account of myself and of the manner of my coming to America and of what I had been doing since my coming. The object of the Senator in publishing this letter was to excite curiosity about me before he presented me to the newly installed President of the U. S. No sooner had this letter appeared in print than the residents of the place became very friendly and invited me to dinner and evening parties and so forth. Before its publication, no notice had been taken of me whatsoever, as was of course perfectly natural.

November 25th. In the morning the Senator took me in his carriage to the State Department and introduced me to the Secretary of State (Gen. Cass) and to the Acting Under-secretary and chief clerk, Mr. Wm. Hunter. From there he took me to the White House and introduced me to President Buchanan. The President shook hands with me very cordially as did all the officials to

whom I had been introduced at the State Department.

The Senator stated the object of our visit. This was to have me placed in the State Department preparatory to my return to Japan, as he believed that that country was shortly to be opened for commerce. He said if I was so placed I would naturally acquire a knowledge of American Institutions which might be of some service to both countries.

The President made answer that he would be most happy to aid me and place me in the State Department, but he was afraid there was no vacancy open, for since he had taken his seat, so many months had elapsed that all posts were filled, down even to the copyist.

"However" he said, "you may inquire at the State Department and if there is any opening I shall be most happy to appoint your young friend."

The Senator replied that he had already been to the Department, and finding that there was no vacancy there he had come to ask the President to do him the favour of creating some special post for me. To this the President answered that there was no appropriation for any new post, but that the Senator might see to such appropriation when the Session of Congress began.

The President was a large-built old man of 70. One of his eyes was affected. He was dressed in a black suit, and held his head on one side.

In December Congress met, but as far as my affair was concerned nothing was done, and the matter seemed to be at an end.

I stayed with the Senator till February, 1858. During this time I made several friends and acquaintances among the former a Lieutenant John M. Brooke. He was then in Washington trying to get up a surveying expedition to the coasts of China and Japan, and to determine the position of some reported dangerous rocks and shoals in the Pacific. He made me a promise that if he succeeded in his object, he would give me a position in the expedition that would enable me to return to my native country.

But his project made but slow progress and I had little to do or to learn with the Senator, as my duties lay in assorting and filing his numerous letters, and writing replies to his dictation. So one day I asked the Senator to let me go, if he really could not place me in the State Department, or get me some post under the Government. He said that if I wished to return to California he would give me a passage back. I told him I did not care to go back to California yet, (on account of Lieutenant Brooke's expedition) but would like

to go to Baltimore where I had some friends and might get into some business house. The Senator then said that if I wished to leave him I might do so, and he would give me a letter to the Collector of the Port of Baltimore who might give me a temporary position. So saying he wrote the following letter and handed it to me:—

Senate Chamber, February 15th, 1858.

My Dear Sir,

Joseph Heco, the bearer of this is a native of Japan, whom having become a citizen of the United States, I brought with me from California to have employed in the State Department. Up to this time I have been unable to get him there employed for the want of a vacancy, but I am still in hopes of succeeding as the session progresses. In the meantime I have advised him to go to Baltimore where he has friends and get employment in the Custom House or a commercial house if he can. He is a clever young man of good habits, industrious and honest, and I shall be much gratified if you could give him even temporary employment in your office.

Very truly yours,

Wm. M. GWIN.

Hon. J. T. Major,
Collector, Baltimore.

After the Senator had granted my leave and provided me with the above letter I expected that he would give me my passage money to California since he knew my salary balance would be very small. So I asked him for my account, whereupon he handed me the following accounts and no allowance for passage money. For I afterwards was told that if I went back to California my passage would

cost him nothing. The Senator's accounts with me stood thus:—

To salary Sept. 5th, 1857 to Feb. 1858 at $30 per month	$150
Less Cash paid from time to time	55
	$95

Against this he handed me a bill for new clothes bought at New York at the wish of his wife amounting to $75. Thus he give me as my balance in cash, $20.

The Senator was well-known to be wealthy, with extensive plantations and several hundreds of slaves in the South. He and his wife posed as leaders of fashionable society in the capital, giving numerous balls and dinner parties and so forth. And yet his treatment of myself, a poor stranger, was not munificent. He took me away from a firm where I was well situated, learning business and perfectly satisfied with my position, and after taking me to a strange and distant place he turns me adrift with a precious twenty dollars!

XIV.

I called on the Collector of the Port of Baltimore and presented the Senator's letter. The Collector read it and said that he was sorry that there was no vacancy in his department and that therefore he could not comply with Senator Gwin's wishes. And he handed me back the letter, saying, "You had better keep this and show it to others for reference." I thanked him and said *sayonara* and came away. So much for the worth of the Senator's letter!!

Meanwhile I had gone to Mr. Sanders' house in Baltimore. In the early part of May, Mr. Sanders came home after his affairs in California had been adjusted. He was very glad to find me at his house. I told him what had befallen me with the Senator, when he said;—

"Oh, he is only a politician, and politicians are all alike,—all promises and no fulfilment. But I am more than glad to have you in my own house; you must always look upon that as your home."

This reply soothed me and made me very happy and I felt wonderfully thankful to him.

And now shortly after this time I began to be greatly troubled. For I was nearly out of pocket money, having only two dollars in all remaining to my name. And yet knowing that my good old friend had come home an unfortunate and ruined merchant, I durst not ask any further aid from him. Besides, I must keep up my decency in dressing. Of course board was free, yet washing had to be paid for, and other expenses had to be met, and to do all this I had but two dollars. What should I do? I had tried everywhere to get a situation even through friends in New York, but I could not get anything owing to the panic of the previous year. Thus I pondered over my position for several days, but no light come to aid me.

I was in this anxious state of mind, when one morning a letter came to me from a stranger whom I had never seen, though the name was a familiar one,—Mr. T. C. Cary, Senior, of Boston, the father of my former employer and partner in Macondray & Co. This letter was a god-send to me.

It intimated that the writer had received a letter from his son in China asking him to see how I was situated and telling him if I was in need of funds to furnish me with them on his (the son's) account. He also wrote that he had received a package of Japanese books for me and asked what

he was to do with them. And besides he said very many kind things in his letter.

When I read this letter I was overwhelmned and for some minutes I was dumbfoundered. I thanked God for giving me such a good friend in my time of need. It is impossible to describe my feelings at that time and my gratitude to my first employer for thinking of me at such a distance.

I answered the letter at once, thanking both the old gentleman and his son for thinking of, and writing to me. I requested the old gentleman to send the books to my address; as for the money matter I would avail myself of his kind offer at some future date.

Mr. Cary sent the books in a few days time accompanied by another kind letter.

June 1st. I received a most welcome letter from Lt. J. M. Brooke, U. S. N. intimating to me that he had succeeded in his project of organising an expedition to survey the coast of China and Japan, and that he would shortly be in a position to appoint me clerk to the said expedition, and thus take me home to my native country.

This was another piece of good news for me. Being thus assured by Lt. Brooke of my appointment, I deemed it necessary to have some money in order to obtain an outfit, and to get ready for my departure. I therefore wrote to Mr. Cary, Sr.,

stating the circumstances and asking him for a loan. The old gentleman at once forwarded a Bank draft, and at the same time wrote an extremely kind note stating that if I wanted a further sum or sums I had only to write to him, when he would comply with my wishes with pleasure.

June 7th. As the day for my departure to my native country drew near at hand, Mr. Sanders thought it best that I should be naturalized before I left Baltimore. So he took me to the U. S. Court where I applied for and obtained a certificate of naturalization signed by the U. S. District Judge Gill and Mr. Spicer, Clerk of Court. And thus I became a citizen of the United States of America.

June 16th. On this day I received the following from Lt. J. M. Brooke:—

SIR,

By the authority of the Secretary of the Navy, I hereby appoint you Captain's clerk. You will proceed to San Francisco viâ New York in the steamer of the 5th July and report to me on your arrival in that port. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) LIEUT. COMDG. J. M. BROOKE,
United States Navy.

TO JOSEPH HECO, ESR.;
Baltimore, Md.

With the above there was a private letter stating that he and his officers and men were to proceed to San Francisco in the steamer of the 20th of June; and that he would leave instructions with his brother,

an officer in the Custom House at New York, to assist me in arranging for my passage and so forth when I arrived there. On the receipt of these letters, I now felt very happy to think that my long anticipated hopes of regaining my native land once more were about to be fulfilled.

June 22nd. Now that preparations for departure were all but completed, I thought it right to pay some farewell visits to friends. So I went to see Mr. Van Reed in Reading, Pa. After spending three days with him I set out for Perrymensville *viâ* Philadelphia in order to say good-bye to my old friend Captain Webster of the revenue cutter *Polk*. I met with a very warm reception in his house, and stayed with him for three days. On the 28th I left with his best wishes, and returned to Baltimore accompanied by one of the Captain's guests, a lady who had been spending summer with his family.

June 29th. Captain Webster had requested me to call on one of his daughters staying in Baltimore with a cousin and deliver some message. So I called in the afternoon and was invited to stay to supper and then go to Church.

After tea two ladies and myself set out for the Methodist Church. When we entered, the building was comparatively empty, but presently it quickly filled up. Into a pew in front of us came two young girls of about 18 or 20 accompanied by a

young man of a similar age. They sat quietly for a time, until the Minister at last said "Let us pray." At that all rose from their seats and got down upon their knees. Then I noticed one of the girls take a pin from the bosom of her dress, and bend it so that it would stand point up when placed upon the seat. She quietly fixed it on the young man's seat without his knowing. At last, after a long time the minister's prayer was over, and all got up and reseated themselves. The young man did likewise, or tried to do likewise, when the aforesaid pin got stuck in him behind. He jumped up and uttered a great cry. The girls burst out laughing as at a great joke, and this made the young man still more angry. He rose and tried to get out of that Church, but the girls kept him there till the service was over. It seemed to me that it was a little too much of a joke to do tricks of that sort in a place of Christian Worship.

July 3rd. For the past week I had been invited to dinners, breakfasts and tea-parties by the good friends I had made in Baltimore. Some of the invitations I accepted; others I had to decline for want of time. But I had called on each and all of them to bid them good-bye and on this evening I was ready to leave for New York in order to take the steamer of the 5th July for California.

Whilst we were smoking after dinner Mr. Sanders and I had some talk about my future. He gave me good advice, such as a father might give to his own son when on the point of making a long journey into a far country. He said that he extremely regretted his inability to give me the education he had intended to give me when I came to him. Had he known beforehand of the coming of the misfortune that befell him in 1855 he would have allowed me to go to West Point, for on the occasion of our visit to President Pierce, the President had offered to place me in the government school there. This Mr. Sanders had declined on my behalf, thinking that he would be able to give me a more useful education in private schools. Of this, of course, he had not told me at the time. "But now that you are going away from our midst," he said, "I must tell you."

After this he went on to say that he had written a letter which he would hand to me and which I might read after I had got upon the cars; from it I would learn how he felt towards me, and what interest he took in my welfare.

4.30 p.m. came and it was time for me to start for the station. My baggage was put into the carriage at the door and then I went and bade farewell to all in the house, and at the same time thanked one and all for the kindness I had received

at their hands during my long sojourn in Baltimore. They all expressed kind wishes for my welfare and wished me a "pleasant voyage home."

Mr. Sanders entered the carriage and drove off with me to the station of the New York line. On the way the old gentleman handed me the letter he had before alluded to.

At 5 p.m. precisely the train was starting. So the old gentleman bade me good-bye, and "God bless you" with a hearty hand-grip, while I thanked him for all his kindness and wished him a long and prosperous life.

When he left the car and stood on the platform looking at my window I felt as I were parting from my own good father and I felt very sad. As the train slowly moved out of the station I saw him standing there waving his hand, and soon he and the good old city of Baltimore alike had faded from my view.

Then I took out the letter Mr. Sanders had handed me. I opened it and read as follows:—

Baltimore, July 2nd, 1858.

DEAR JOSEPH,

Five years and half ago, I first saw you, when you were presented to me by Captain Pease, of the U. S. revenue cutter in San Francisco, and whilst I was the Collector of that Port. From that day to the present, I have never ceased to cherish for you a kind and parental feeling. Your education is not so complete as I intended to have made it; but you know the circumstances which surrounded me, after my

return from Europe in 1854, and I took you from school in Baltimore to return to our distant home in San Francisco. You know how after entering you at school there, the time came when I was from necessity compelled to discontinue your education, because of commercial disaster. All these things you know; but you never can know how much I was grieved when I found that I could not afford you that protection and give you such an education as was my wish and intention.

However, you have sufficient education and knowledge for all practical purposes, and with your native cleverness and tact you are fitted for almost any mercantile position, with the practical knowledge which is always obtained in the exercises of the duties imposed upon the young beginners.

Your short but agreeable experience in the highly respectable house of Macondray & Co., San Francisco, will readily convince you of the truth of my remarks.

When Senator Gwin persuaded me to permit you to leave so good a place as the one alluded to, I was flattered with the hope, that through the influence of that gentleman you would have obtained a very respectable position in the State Department in Washington. He (Senator Gwin) failed however, to accomplish this desirable end, and when I arrived from San Francisco, I found you at my house, which you know is always, and under all circumstances, your home. I regretted Senator Gwin's failure to comply with his promises, but was much pleased to find you happily situated in my family.

Lieutenant Brooke's appointment of you as Clerk to the U. S. surveying expedition is to me very gratifying, as it gives you employment and enables you to see again your native land. Congress has ratified the treaty with Japan, and the consequence will be the opening of Diplomatic relations with that country. I will keep a look out for your interest and should it be expedient to employ you in any honorable position in the Embassy, I will see to it that you shall get the appointment.

In taking leave of you, my dear boy, it affords me unfeigned pleasure to say that for the five or six years that I have known you, in the intimate relations which have existed between us, I have always and under all circumstances found you truthful, honorable, loyal and polite, courteous and appreciative, and entirely entitled to the confidence and respect of your friends and of all men. I regret to part

from you, but am cheered with the hope and expectation that the future will be such as to make any sacrifice justifiable.

With good wishes for your prospect and future happiness.

I am your sincere friend,

BEVERLY C. SANDERS.

When I read this letter, I almost cried to think of how kindly and how much he had thought of me, and of how unfortunate he had been in his business in California. Had he not met with that misfortune I should have been properly and fully educated, and no doubt fitted for almost any honourable position in life! With these and other thoughts I lit a cigar and gazed on the passing scene, and in about half-an-hour I fell asleep on the seat, worn out with the fatigue and excitement of the last few days.

XV.

I arrived at New York at 3 o'clock next morning. I drove up to the Metropolitan Hotel, registered myself and got my room. Then after breakfast I called on Captain Brooke's brother at the Custom-House. When I got there Mr. St. John Brooke received me very kindly and told me of the instructions his brother had left with him regarding me. He told me that the Government allowed only $300 for passage-money and expenses, and that the fares were 1st class $300, 2nd class $200, 3rd class $150. I decided to go 2nd class, which would leave me $100 for incidental expenses. Upon this Mr. Brooke said he would go with me to the office and see whether he could get the company to grant me a 1st class ticket for 2nd class fare by explaining to them my peculiar situation; being a stranger in a strange land trying to get back to his native country. At this point I recollected that I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Sanders to the President of the company and when I mentioned that fact to Mr. Brooke he said

"That is capital." We made an appointment and in the afternoon we went to the P. M. S. S. Co.'s office and asked for the President and sent in our cards. In a moment we were admitted to his private office and I at once handed him Mr. Sanders' letter. The President read it and then spoke to the following effect:—

"Oh! So you are going out to California! The passage-rates are 1st class $300, 2nd class $200, 3rd class $150."

Then Mr. Brooke began to explain how I was situated, and asked if it was possible for the President to give me a little help in the way of granting me a first-class passage for 2nd class rates.

The President replied "No Sir, I am sorry, but it is the regulation and I cannot favour anyone." At this I turned to Mr. Brooke and said I would go 2nd class. We then bade the President good-afternoon and left the office.

On our way to my hotel, we discussed the President's cool and disagreeable reply, for we knew perfectly well that when it suited him he did favour other people.

July 4th. I went to the Catholic Church and heard a fine sermon. On my way to my hotel, I met my friend St. John. He had come to find me to take me to his mother's residence on 5th Avenue, to dine there.

When we arrived I was welcomed by the whole family, viz. his step-father, step-sister and mother. They were very kind and attentive to me and treated me with great deference as a stranger from the far-off and unknown country of Japan. At precisely 3 p.m. dinner was announced, and I was led into the beautiful dining-room where a nice dinner was served which I enjoyed very much.

The 5th Avenue is almost entirely occupied with the private residences of the wealthy inhabitants of the city. Each residence has a nice flower-garden attached, separated from the street by iron railings. The houses are large squarely-built buildings of brick or stone and of from two to four storeys high.

The streets are broad and well-laid out, with side walks nicely paved and with rows of shade-trees to protect the pedestrian from the summer heat. Altogether it is considered the most fashionable quarter of the city.

July 5th had been advertised as the day of the steamer's sailing, but as the Fourth of July had fallen on a Sunday, the 5th was celebrated as Independence Day and the departure of the boat was postponed till the 6th. After Mr. Brooke and I had lunched at the hotel we went out to see the military parade. In the evening I went with

St. John to Laura Kean's theatre where I saw a comedy for the first time. It was called the *School for Scandal*, and it kept me laughing all the evening.

July 6th. My friends Mr. Brooke and St. John escorted me to the wharf where the *Moses Taylor* lay. After putting away my baggage in a safe place my friends and I were walking the deck and talking, when up comes the Hon. H. May of Baltimore, a member of Congress for the State of Maryland, to whom I had been introduced by Mr. Sanders. He was going to California to conduct a law case, for he was a lawyer as well as a Congressman. He recognized me and shook hands with me and I then and there introduced him to my friends.

The bell at last rang and my friends went ashore and Mr. May and myself went on talking as we walked to and fro on the deck. As we were doing so the Captain came on board. He called out "Ah! Heco, is that you?" and at once shook hands, saying how glad he was to meet me and asking why I had not let him know I was in the Eastern States.

"However" he said "we'll talk afterwards. I must now get the steamer under weigh."

This Captain was Capt. McGowan, the officer who had succeeded Captain Hunter in command

of the *Polk*. He was now skipper of the *Moses Taylor*, with a farm in the State of New York.

After the vessel had been got under weigh, the Captain called to me. I went to him and he introduced me to his son. The young man was about my own age, just out of college, and on his first sea-going trip. When the vessel had cleared the harbour, the Captain requested the Purser to provide me with a cabin in the first saloon along with his son. Then I went on to tell the Captain where I had been and what I had been doing since I left California.

At 5 o'clock the Captain sent for me to come to dinner. I informed him that my ticket was only a 2nd class one, and told him all the circumstances of my taking it.

"Never mind that!" he replied. "I knew you were booked in the 2nd class when the Purser took up the tickets; but you are my friend and my guest." So saying he placed me on his left opposite to Mr. and Mrs. ———, who were on his right. This was a stroke of great good luck for me. Notwithstanding the refusal of the President of the Company to accommodate me I had got all I wanted, besides being placed in the most honourable place on board. The Captain's table is supposed to be the most honoured place on board these passenger steamers, for the food is

best and the servants are more attentive than at any other. And next is the Purser's, it is so said.

Therefore I felt quite thankful to Almighty God by whose aid I had thus met with my good friend, and through whom what the President of the Company had refused was granted me at other hands without my asking. This was to show to the world that Providence always looks after those who are right in mind and purpose.

When we arrived at Aspinwall all the passengers went ashore with the exception of Mr. May and myself, whom the Captain invited to stay for breakfast. Then Captain McGowan said he would go with us to Panama in order to arrange for my passage with Captain Bobie on the boat to San Francisco. So we all started across the Isthmus by railway.

When we arrived at Panama the S.S. *Sonora* was at anchor in the bay awaiting us. We at once went on board of her by the tug *Guatamala*. Then Captain McGowan introduced me with kind words to Captain Bobie of the *Sonora*, requesting him to take good care of me. The Captain of the *Sonora* replied that he would do so with pleasure. He at once took charge of me, and treated me as kindly as if he had known me all my life. It is impossible for me to express how much I am indebted to the kindness of these gentlemen.

After I had been introduced to Capt. Bobie, Capt. McGowan bade me good-bye and left for his vessel on the other side. Soon after he went off Captain Bobie introduced me to the Purser, and he at once assigned Mr. May and myself a highly comfortable cabin. At dinner I was placed at the Purser's table on his right hand. Thus again I was well cared for by my new friends.

XVI.

We arrived at San Francisco on the 29th July. I at once reported myself officially to Capt. Brooke at Mare Island, where he was engaged in fitting out his vessel. He told me to stay where I was until his vessel was ready, when he would come down to San Francisco and take me on board.

One morning the *Carribbean*, a British ship, came into port with about a dozen Japanese she had picked up in a helpless condition. Tora and Van Reed went off and saw them, and afterwards they came and asked me to accompany them in order to find out the details of their being cast away, where they were from, and so forth. So I went and saw them, and afterwards we endeavoured to procure their return to Japan through the aid of the U. S. Government, but without success. Ultimately they were taken by the *Carribbean* to Hongkong, and from there they got back to their country through English aid.

September 20th. Received notice from the Commander of the surveying schooner *Fennimore Cooper* that she would be down from Mare Island

Navy-yard in a day or two, and that I must hold myself in readiness to join her. On the 22nd she arrived and I went on board and took up my quarters.

The *Fennimore Cooper* had been a New York pilot-boat which the Government had bought some years before and fitted out for an expedition to the East under Commodore Ringold, on which occasion she had gone as a "tender" to the Commodore. When she returned she had been laid up at Mare Island Navy-yard. She was a two-masted schooner of 96 tons burthen, with a commander, a lieutenant, an artist, myself as clerk in the cabin, and a crew of 17 men including a cook and a steward. She was well supplied with all necessary instruments for surveying, with 21 chronometers in the cabin, and in addition we had a deep-sea-sounding apparatus with lines, shot, and all complete. She carried two months water and provisions for 21 men; so that she lay low in the water and looked fast and pretty.

September 26th. After returning to Mare Island to repair an injury to the jib-boom we set sail at 11 a.m. on this day and about 4 p.m. we had passed the Golden Gate and discharged our pilot, and stood on our cruise. The wind was from S.W. with heavy seas. The schooner rolled with a quick jerky motion which made us all sea sick for the first few days.

October 1st, 1858. We caught an albatross. Our Captain tied a piece of tin around its neck marked with Long. 130°, 0′, 8″ S. and Lat. 30°, 50′, 0″ N. October 2nd, and let the bird free next morning.

On October 3rd it was calm and cloudy although the sea still ran high. We hove to in order to make the first sounding of the Pacific with the apparatus our Captain had invented when he was a midshipman.

About 9 a.m. we let the apparatus down into the sea and began sounding. But the apparatus did not reach the bottom until 10.15 a.m. by which time we had let out 2,600 fathom of line. The first 200 yards or so ran off with great velocity, but after that it went slowly, as the weight of the line seemed to retard it. At 11.15 a.m. we began to reel in the line and had got about 200 or 300 yards on board when the cord parted on account of the strain on it from the roll of the vessel.

At noon we cast another line, and in about an hour the shot seemed to have reached the bottom. We at once began to reel in. This time we were fortunate to recover the line and the shot and to bring up a specimen of the earth at the bottom of the Pacific. No doubt this was the very first specimen so obtained from there since the creation

of the world. The depth we got was not very accurate, but the line was out 2,800 fathoms.

The specimen was a light, yellow, sandy-coloured tenacious clay, soft and with very fine particles. Under the microscope it looked like broken China ware. During the sounding we experienced occasional heavy swells, rolling from N.W. to S. E. with intervals of about 200 to 500 yards between them. They would keep on for about a quarter of an hour at a time. Our Captain measured their height from the deck. He said they were about the highest waves known in the world, measuring as they did from 20 to 22 feet in altitude.

Whilst we were reeling in the line we noticed some large fish playing on it about 30 yards below the surface. These we supposed to be sharks. It took about 3½ hours to recover the line.

After this we set our sails and stood on our course till the 8th of October, when we had another calm day. At 5 p.m. we hove to and cast soundings. At 6.12 p.m. the shot reached the bottom, with 1,900 fathom of line out. At 8.30 p.m. we recovered the line with a specimen similar to the former one.

On the following morning we again took soundings. This time we brought up another similar specimen after having paid out 2,200 fathoms of line.

While this sounding was in progress, our Captain ordered a boat to be lowered. He got into it with some glass instrument and went off about 600 yards from the schooner and experimented on the transmission of sound under water.

October 21st. We had another sounding, and on this occasion we brought some water from the bottom, by attaching a glass tube of about 2½ feet in length to the end of the iron rod. We found that the specific gravity of this water did not differ materially from that at the surface.

November 6th. We sighted Mani, one of the Sandwich group and on the 9th we arrived at Honolulu after a passage of 43 days, during which we had stopped several times to make soundings. We found the centre of the Pacific between California and the Sandwich Islands to be much shallower than the portions adjacent to these places. When we rounded Diamond Head a steam tug came out and towed us into the harbour. Here many people came on board, among them being Mr. A. B. Bates, Attorney-General of the Hawaian Kingdom, Mr. Denman, the editor of the local newspaper, and English and French men-of-war officers. They all congratulated us on our arrival, and stated that it had been feared and reported that our vessel had been lost, since nothing had been heard of us since we left San Francisco 43 days before.

I was invited by the Attorney-General, Mr. Bates, to stay at his house, while our schooner was in the harbour, and I accepted his invitation.

November 20th. After breakfast we came into town, and I went and reported myself to the Captain. I was told that a whaler had picked up some of my countrymen and brought them into port. I asked the Captain for our boat and went off to the "*Hobomac*," on which they were said to be.

I found that they had been picked up in a helpless condition by some vessel 2 years before, and that so far they had found no opportunity of fulfilling their wish to return to Japan. They had been Owari men, five in all; sailors on an Owari junk trading between that place and Yedo. They had been blown off the coast, and after drifting for some months they had been picked up by the whaler *Chas. Philippi*. They had afterwards met the *Hobomac*, short of hands, and this vessel had taken two of the five men on board. I asked them how they had been treated on that ship. They answered that they had been treated with extreme kindness by Captain and officers alike, and asked me to thank the ship's company for all that they had done for them. I then asked them whether they wished to remain where they were, or whether they wished to return to their country.

They said that of course by all means they wished to return to their country and their families if by any chance they might haply do so.

After I came ashore I told Mr. Bates of the men's desire. He said he knew of a Captain going on a cruise in the course of which he would touch at Hakodate, and that he would ask that Captain to land them there. Next day he saw the Captain of the *Godean*, and arranged with him that these two Japanese should return to their country on his ship.

The following morning Mr. Bates and myself went on board the *Hobomac* and asked her Captain whether he had any objection to let these two Japanese leave his vessel. He answered that he had none; and said that it had been his intention if he went on another cruise to land them at Hakodate, but now seeing that there was an earlier opportunity for their return he was glad to let them go. So we came ashore and bought some bags of rice for the men's food on the voyage, and sent them on board the *Godean* delighted.

A few days another Japanese was brought into port by the whaler and I at once went to see him. He was from the island of Awaji and had been cast away with two companions in a small coasting junk between his own place and Kishiu. The vessel had broken her rudder and had then been blown

off the coast. His two comrades had died from want of food, and he was all but dead when he was picked up by the whaler.

When he saw me in undress uniform with brass buttons and gold bands on my cap he was somewhat afraid of me when I addressed him in his own language, for he did not know who I was. He immediately fell on his knees and began to relate his story. I told him to get up, saying that I was a countryman of his own similarly situated, and on my way back to Japan in an American Government vessel. Upon this he begged me to take him with me in my vessel. I told him I would see what could be done. When I returned to the *Cooper* I reported the man's case to the Captain. He immediately told me to bring him on board and I went and got the permission of the Captain of the whaler to do so.

When Captain Brooke saw him he said he would take him in his vessel to Japan, shipping him as a "landsman" at the rate of $12 per month. When I told the man this he was delighted beyond measure.

After this I went with him on board his vessel and asked the Captain to let him go. The Captain of the whaler said he was quite willing to comply with my request, and went on to say that "Tim" (that was what the man was called by the crew)

had proved himself a good and obedient worker and that he was a great favourite with the officers and the crew. He added that if Tim chose to accompany him he was prepared to give him an education in the U. S., but that now that this excellent chance of returning to his country had offered he certainly would not stand in his way.

So next day Tim was transferred to the *Cooper* and in her he reached Yokohama safely in 1859.

Among the acquaintances I made in Honolulu was a Mr. Haskill, a member of the Lower House of Parliament. One day in December he invited me to visit the House and witness the proceedings.

The two Houses sit in one building. The proceedings are in the native language, although the Laws and Edicts are generally published in English, which seems to be the language of law in those islands. On the day of my visit there were seven or eight Members present. Of the Members of the Lower House half are natives, and the other half are Europeans or foreigners who have been naturalized as Hawaians, for naturalization renders them eligible for office. The Members of the Upper House were, I was told, native nobles and Ministers of State.

December 29th. On this day we took our departure to survey the "reported shoals and dan-

gerous rocks." When we got outside I became quite squeamish and had to retire to my bunk where I remained for several days.

We were at sea for more than a month during which time we experienced two cyclones and several gales, but thanks to our Captain's caution, we sustained no damage from them. We returned to Honolulu on the 5th of February, 1859.

I at once went ashore, and after riding out to Waékeké and back I called at the U. S. Consulate, to see if there were any newspapers for us there. We found several, and on beginning to peruse them after returning on board, I was overjoyed to notice that a commercial treaty had been concluded between the U. S. and Japanese Governments, and that three new ports were to be opened in the July following.

February 9th. This was King Kameamea III.'s birthday, and the harbour was gay with bunting. At noon there was a salute of 21 guns from the men-of-war, and of 101 from the fort, while some of the whalers also burnt powder to celebrate the day. On shore crowds of natives of both sexes turned out in calico dresses on horseback, the women riding just in the same fashion as men do in America.

February 21st. Our departure drew near;

but I had suffered so much from sea-sickness on board our craft, and had so little duty to do on her that now that I knew my country was to be opened in July, I was anxious to leave the *Cooper* and return if possible *viâ* Hongkong or Hakodate. This would be much quicker than by the schooner, for she was to visit first Manila, and Hongkong and then Loochoo before reaching Japan. So one day I asked the Captain whether he could consent to my leaving him. He replied that if I got a passage *viâ* Hongkong or Hakodate he had no objection, since I seemed to suffer much from the smallness of the vessel. If I went *viâ* Hongkong he would give me a letter of introduction to the flag-officer of the squadron in China, and would promote my interest in every way he possibly could.

I was extremely sorry to part with the officers and men for they had been very kind to me while on board. Besides my funds were low, and though if I economized and got the chance of a vessel at an early date I might manage to cross as far as China yet I thought it advisable to consult with one of my kind friends on shore. When I mentioned the case to Mr. F. Hanks of the U. S. Commissioner's Office he said he would be glad if I would stay at his house till a vessel came for China. So I sent in my resignation to Capt. Brooke who

accepted it, and wrote me the following letter in reply:—

Fennimore Cooper,

Honolulu, S.I., March 8th, 1859.

My Dear Sir,

At your solicitation and in consideration of your health which suffers from long confinement on board so small a vessel as the *Cooper* I have accepted your resignation. It was my wish to land you safely in Japan, and there to make such arrangements, if in my power, as would enable you to visit your family without delay. The recent change, however, which has taken place in Japan, and the fact that liberal treaties have been made, render it probable that you will meet with less difficulty in returning to your family than others of your unfortunate shipwrecked countrymen, who have preceded you.

As you have made arrangement for a passage to Hakodate in the *Militia*, and your way is comparatively clear, I trust that we shall find you in Japan, when we arrive in the *Cooper*. In parting, it only remains to express the high regard which I have for you and to say that during our association your conduct has been such as to merit the highest commendation. I can therefore recommend you to the confidence of those by whom you may hereafter be employed, and request for you the kindness and attention due to modest merit,—particularly in the case of a person situated as you are—seeking to return to your native country after an absence of so many years, and under circumstances of doubt and trial.

I shall be happy to hear of your success, and if at any time you should have occasion to ask aid from me, I shall be most happy to render it.

Your true friend,

(Signed) JOHN. M. BROOKE,

Lieut.-Commanding U. S. N.

Joseph Heco, Esq.,

Captain's Clerk,

U. S. Schooner *Fennimore Cooper.*

About a week after the *Cooper* had left, the whaling-ship *Militia* was to leave for her northern cruise. So I made arrangements with her Captain to take me and land me at Hakodate. But before she went the clipper *Sea Serpent*, Captain Whitmore, from San Francisco for Hongkong entered the harbour. She had several cabin passengers

and among them was my old friend, E. M. Van Reed, bound for Japan *viâ* China. He advised me to go with him instead of going on the *Militia*. I consulted Mr. Hanks about the matter. He said that if I wished to go in the *Sea Serpent* he would secure a passage for me since he was acquainted with the Captain. I told him that my funds amounted to only $120, and asked if that would be enough to carry me through. He said that would be all right, and that I had better allow him to arrange the matter.

Next day when the ship was ready to sail Mr. Hanks handed me a first-class ticket. I wished to pay for it, but my friend said that he had arranged matters with the Captain and that it was all right. I thanked him for his kindness. Just as we were leaving in the boat to go on board the clipper Mr. Hanks gave me a note which he wished me to look over when I got on board the *Sea Serpent*. As soon as I reached the ship, I opened it, when to my great surprise, I found a subscription list headed by Mr. Hank's name. And that was how he had made "it all right" with the Captain!

We set sail on March the 12th, 1859, and after a run of 25 days we reached Hongkong at 12.30 a.m. of April 22nd.

XVII.

I got up early to see the place I had seen seven years ago. I at once observed the port was crowded with ships at anchor, that the harbour itself looked busier, and that great improvements had been made ashore since my visit in 1852.

Among the passengers, Messrs. L. Clarke, Van Reed, Geo. Glover, and myself were invited by the Captain to remain on board while the vessel was in port, and all accepted his invitation.

After breakfast I went on shore and called on Mr. Speiden, U. S. Naval storekeeper at this port, to whom I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Bates of Honolulu. He invited me to take up my quarters at his house while I was in Hongkong, but I thanked him and told him how I was situated. He told me that Commodore Tatnal was expected from India with the U. S. Minister to China, and that he would leave for the North shortly after his arrival in Hongkong, and that consequently I would have a sure chance of getting back to my country.

April 10th. Being Sunday, I went ashore in

order to go to church to offer my sincere thanks to Almighty God for bringing me thus far nearer to my home in safety.

On April 17th Capt. Whitmore took me with him on a visit to Canton. Here I met "Dan," one of my comrades in the junk when we were cast away. I had not seen him since we had parted on board the *Susquehanna* in 1852. He was living with the British Consul (Mr. Alcock) at Canton. He informed me that his employer had been appointed British Consul-General to our native country, and that he (Dan) was engaged to accompany him when he should proceed to Japan

About a fortnight after I had returned to Hongkong, on May 2nd, I had a call from "Dan" who meanwhile had left Canton. He asked me to call on his employer Mr. Alcock and I went with him. He introduced me to a Mr. Corwin, who had been appointed Interpreter to the British Consul-General at Yedo. He spoke Dutch, a language with which several Japanese were acquainted. After this "Dan" took me to Mr. Alcock's office and introduced me to him. Mr. Alcock received me very cordially and entered into conversation with me, and as I was leaving very kindly offered me a post as Interpreter. This offer I had to decline politely for two reasons. In the first place one of my shipwrecked companions was al-

ready occupying a somewhat menial position with him, and in the next I felt that I owed so much to the good people of the U. S. and to the Government of that country for the kind treatment I had received at their hands that I held it to be my duty to reach my country free, see the U. S. Minister there, and put my services at his disposal first. If he should not need them, then, well and good; I should be free to act.

May 6th. I had received repeated invitations from Mr. Speiden to take up my quarters at his residence, and now learning that the *Sea Serpent* would be ready for sea in a day or two, I bade the Captain and all hands good-bye, and, giving them my best wishes, went ashore to live with Mr. Speiden. That gentleman's father had been Chief Purser in Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan in 1853.

June 10th. By this time it was reported that the U. S. ship *Powhatan*, Commodore Tatnal, was expected from Indian ports with Mr. Ward, the U. S. Minister to China on board. Early this morning we heard guns and on Mr. Speiden's going out to see what it was, he saw the *Powhatan* had come into port and that she was exchanging salutes with the English and other men-of-war.

Mr. Speiden immediately went on board the *Powhatan* and in about two hours returned with the intelligence that the U. S. Minister and his

suite were on her. In the afternoon he asked me to accompany him. So I went on board with him, and presented my letter of introduction from my friend Capt. J. M. Brooke to the Commodore.

The Commodore read the letter and said that provided it was in his power he would be most happy to give me any aid to return to my native land. But as things then stood, he was not going to Japan at all, and besides having the Minister to China and his suite on board, he had no spare cabin, having actually had to give up his own one though he was then suffering from a severe attack of gout.

"However," he said, "although my ship is not going up to Japan, I must despatch the *Mississippi* or some other vessel with the new Minister (Mr. Harris) to Japan, who is now, I am informed, in Shanghai. So, Mr. Speiden, if you can make any arrangement with the ward-room officers for Mr. Heco I shall be most happy to carry him as far as Shanghai, and thence he may reach Japan in one of the vessels which I shall have to send to convey Mr. Harris there."

Mr. Speiden, acting upon this hint, took me down to the ward-room and introduced me to the officers. There were five Lieutenants, three Doctors, the Commodore's Secretary and a Chief Engineer. They at once invited me to take up my

quarters among them, and the first Lieutenant said that there would be a vacant cabin, as they had chartered a steam-tender which one of the Lieutenants would have to command. Thus the whole arrangement was made then and there. It made me exceedingly happy to think that my prospects of reaching home were assured.

May 17th. This was the day fixed for the sailing of the *Powhatan*. I went on board and found a cabin ready for me. It had been vacated by Lieutenant Semmes who had gone to command the little steamer *Toyâwan*, which had been chartered as a tender. On the following day the *Powhatan* steamed out for Shanghai *viâ* Ningpo. We arrived at our destination on May 27th, and found the U. S. ship *Mississippi* at anchor there. She sent off a boat with an officer to exchange the usual compliments with us.

On the 29th, I accompanied the officers of the *Powhatan* on a visit to the *Mississippi*, in order to make the acquaintance of her officers and also to be introduced to the U. S. Minister, Harris.

When I was introduced to Capt. Nicolson and his officers, they received me very kindly and readily expressed their willingness to give me a passage to Japan, when their ship was ordered thither.

Then I was introduced to Mr. Harris, the late

U. S. Consul-General and newly created Minister to Japan. He received me cordially and asked me many questions as to how I had left my country, how long I had been in America, and whether I had been naturalized or not. At the close of our conversation he requested me to bring the original naturalization papers to shew him, and to make a duplicate of them which I was to hand over to him as it devolved upon him to take charge of me when we arrived in Japan.

I was also introduced to Mr. E. M. Dorr of California, whom the Minister had appointed to the post of U. S. Consul at Kanagawa when that port should be opened to trade. That gentleman at once offered me the position of official interpreter to his Consulate, and I accepted his offer after consultation with the Minister and others. The Captain of the *Mississippi* had offered me a passage, the officers had invited me to mess with them in the ward-room, and now the Consul had given me a government position. Thus I was nicely placed for my return home, and I returned to the *Powhatan* quite happy and much pleased with my visit to the *Mississippi*.

Next morning I went on board the *Mississippi* with my naturalization certificate and a duplicate which I had made in accordance with the instructions of the Minister. Mr. Harris read the original

document, and handed it back to me and I gave him the duplicate. He told me, that on our arrival at Kanagawa he would have to shew it to the Governor of the place, and afterwards would have to hand it to the Minister of State at Yedo, assuring them that I was an American citizen and no longer a Japanese.

In the afternoon I went to Shanghai and called on Mr. Dow, who was staying at A. Heard & Co.'s there. He expressed his pleasure at seeing me and said he was waiting to arrange about my engagement, to fix my salary and generally to make preparations for our departure to Japan. And everything was arranged to the satisfaction of all concerned. I then went to call on one of my countrymen who was occupying a situation with Dent & Co. Some 10 or 15 years before our time he had been cast away. He had been picked up by an English merchantman and at once taken back to Japan. But the Japanese had fired upon him and driven him away. So he was brought back to Shanghai and landed there. Then some missionaries had taken him in hand and educated him and he had at last got a position in the Settlement in which he was doing well. He was from the Province of Owari, and his name was Ottosan. It was from him that I first learned what had become of my thirteen shipwrecked comrades that I left at

Comsingmoon in 1852. As intended by the U. S. Government they had gone with Perry's expedition to Japan. But they were afraid to face the officials of their country at Uraga. In spite of all the Commodore could do, they would not appear on deck. So Commodore Perry had brought them back to Shanghai, where Mr. Ottosan welcomed them and took charge of them. Afterwards he applied to the Chinese authorities on their behalf for a passage for them to Nagasaki on one of the vessels the Chinese annually sent there. The Chinese Government acceded to the request, and the thirteen castaways were taken to Nagasaki on one of their junks. About June 13th, 1859, I shifted from the *Powhatan* to the *Mississippi*, and two days later the latter vessel steamed out of Woosung with the new Minister to Japan, the Consul for Kanagawa and myself on board for Nagasaki. By the night of the 17th we had neared the entrance to Nagasaki, and on the following morning we entered its picturesque and land-locked harbour and came to anchor there.

Just before we had let go the anchor, a native boat sculled off to us with three officials on board. These officers were from the native custom-house and came to ascertain who we were, whence we had come, and what the object of our visit was. The deck officer received them and gave them all

the information they asked for. They jotted it down in a little note-book and took their departure. Shortly after another boat came off. This was from the English man-of-war *Sampson* to exchange the usual compliments, and soon yet another came from the Russian war-vessels in the harbour on the same errand. We learned that the *Sampson* carried Mr. R. Alcock, the British Consul-General and suite bound for Kanagawa and Yedo.

About 9 o'clock several sampans came alongside with native dealers in curios, lacquered and porcelain wares, vegetables, fruit and general fresh provisions for the men's mess. I felt very anxious to speak to them but Capt. Nicolson of the *Mississippi* had requested me just before we came to anchor not to talk with any native, or to go ashore at Nagasaki, inasmuch as the Minister was in a hurry to reach Kanagawa and Yedo, and if anything happened to me, at the hands of the native authorities or otherwise, the Minister would be bound to stop and protect me, since I was an American citizen. Thus perforce I had to remain silent, although I heard Japanese spoken all around me. Not one of the natives who had come on board suspected that I was a fellow countryman of theirs or that I knew their language,—not even the pilot who had brought our ship into the harbour.

However I kept my ears open to their talk,

and greedily drank in all they said. They appeared to be much engrossed in the matter of a Frenchman who had come over as a passenger in one of Dent & Co.'s schooners and taken away a native girl with him to Shanghai. He had hid her in the cabin of the vessel, but the native authorities somehow got to know of it. After the schooner had gone, the Governor arrested the girl's parents and put them in prison to be kept there till the girl was produced by the man who had enticed her away. Negotiations were being conducted through the Agent for Dent & Co. The owners had compelled the Frenchman to bring the girl back, but he had not yet delivered her to the authorities or to her parents. Next day the natives came on board and again fell to discussing the subject. From what there I learned that the girl had been handed to the native authorities who had put her in prison and liberated her parents.

On the 18th we began coaling, and on the following morning the *Sampson* passed out for Kanagawa with the English Consul-General and his suite on board. On the 21st we were still coaling in the rain. About dusk it was reported that a Japanese sailor had had a fight with one of our crew and that the former had been badly hurt. The deck-officer hastened to the scene, where he found a native lying on the deck groaning and

talking to a two-sworded official standing by him. The deck-officer asked a marine standing beside them what the matter was. The marine stated that as he stood on guard beside the paddle-box he had seen one of our crew bringing a small tub of *saké* on board. So he seized him and the *saké*-tub and questioned the sailor as to where he got it. The man said that one of the coolies on the coal junk had sold it to him, so the marine asked him to point out the coolie. Then the sailor had pointed at the man then lying on the deck. The marine at once laid hold of him, and told him to walk on, meaning to bring him before the deck-officer. But the coolie would not move, so the marine kicked him by way of effectual persuasion. Then the victim lay down and yelled lustily, and the officer and the interpreter came running to the spot to find out the reason of the uproar.

The deck-officer tried to convey to the official what the marine had said. But the interpreter's grasp upon English was so weak, that the official remained as wise as he was to start with, and at last he lost his temper utterly and fell into a towering rage. Upon this the deck-officer (Lt. Patterson) got tired of talking, and asked the official and the interpreter to come to the quarter-deck, where I was. They came, and then the Lieutenant asked

me to interpret his explanation to the two-sworded man. And thus it was that I was first brought in contact with my countrymen in my own country again.

Before I began to translate, I asked the marine for the facts of the case. He stated them as above, adding that it was contrary to the Treaty for any native to sell liquor to our crew, or to American sailors on board ship. Then I invited the official and the interpreter to come to the officers' smoking-room where we could be quieter, and undisturbed by the noise of the coaling. When we got seated I began to explain what the marine had said, in Japanese. The official started bolt upright with surprise when I began to utter myself in his own tongue in the same idiom and with the same accent as himself. He dropped all mention of the man's case at once, and began to ply me with question upon question as to who I was, where I came from, and how and where I had learned his language.

Just at this point the deck-officer, who had gone for a bottle of champagne and some cakes to soothe the angry official, came back with the ward-room boy and the wine. He at once asked me if I had got through with the case. I replied that I had not got one quarter through it when the official had dropped it to ply me with a string of questions about myself.

"And what did you tell him?" said the deck-officer.

"Oh! I told him I am an American, but he won't believe it," I answered.

At this point the champagne was opened and we toasted each other. Then I explained the coolie's case as it had been explained to me by the marine. The official said that the case was not so. The junk-men had gone to supper, and while they were drinking, an American sailor came and asked them to sell some *saké*, shewing them a silver piece as a convincing argument. But they declined to sell the *saké* since the coin was not of their country. Whereupon the sailor dropped the coin among them, picked up the tub of *saké* and walked off with it to our vessel very hastily. But the watchman at the paddle-box saw him and caught him. He then said something to that watchman, and the latter at once came on board the junk and pulled away one of the men on to the steamer's deck. The man got frightened at the talk of the watchman and would not move. Then the watchman kicked him so that he yelled, and he (the official) had heard this, and had gone and found him lying on the deck much hurt on account of that kicking.

The official said that the sentry had no right to kick or ill-treat a native in any way, and that if the latter had done anything wrong it was the

watchman s business to report the same to him who was the judge of the case, and who was there for the purpose of watching the natives and their behaviour. At this point the Lieutenant desired me to express his regret at what had happened, saying that he would instruct his men to be more careful in future. This gave the official perfect satisfaction and thus the case was amicably settled.

But the native officer's mind appeared to be far more exercised about my speaking Japanese than about the kicking of that junk-man. He asked again and again how I came to know his language and who I was but I gave him no opportunity of finding out. I had been requested by Captain Nicolson to keep my own counsel till we came to Kanagawa and I did so. This officer belonged to the Daimio of Hizen and his name was Massuda. I met him again in Nagasaki in 1867.

XVIII.

On June 22nd we got under weigh for the port of Shimoda. It took us nearly four days to get there by reason a constant easterly wind and a heavy rainfall. We found the *Wanderer*, a little fore and aft schooner belonging to Heard & Co. of Shanghai lying in Shimoda when we got there.

As soon as we anchored, Secretary Husken of the U. S. Legation came off to welcome the Minister, and along with him came Capt. James of the *Wanderer* and her passenger Van Reed. On the following day the Minister began to pack and chartered a native junk into which he put all his baggage and effects. While the Minister was getting ready I went ashore with the officers of the *Mississippi* and visited the bazaar and assisted them to make their purchases. When we landed at the jetty we met several Government officials. These were the first Government officers with whom I again spoke my native tongue. They seemed to take a great deal of interest in us, and to be very anxious to learn all they could about America and the Americans.

At this place I asked for my stepfather and my brother by their names since I knew that they used to frequent this port in their vessels. But none of the townspeople knew anything about them, for many of the residents had changed since the Great Earthquake of 1854; the place having been nearly utterly destroyed by tidal waves that swept up upon it soon after the earthquake of that year.

On June 30th the *Mississippi* steamed out of the harbour with a junk and the *Wanderer* in tow, and steered for Kanagawa. About noon we passed Uraga, and as about this time a little light S. W. wind came up, we cast off the *Wanderer* to sail up, and steamed steadily onwards ourselves and came to anchor in Kanagawa Bay about 3.30 p.m. As we came in we observed the English man-of-war *Sampson* at anchor, and from her a boat came off to exchange the usual compliments.

As we entered the port of Kanagawa we observed building everywhere in progress on the Yokohama side. After we came to anchor a custom-house boat with some officials came alongside. These gentlemen wore swords, and were in *hakama* and *haori*,—full dress in Japan. They had come to ascertain the object of our visit. Our captain received them in the cabin and informed them that we were from Nagasaki, and that we

had on board the new Minister to Japan, and the Consul for Kanagawa who had came to open the port on the 4th of July as stipulated in the Treaty of Yedo of 1858. On their departure the following conversation took place between the Minister and the Consul.

"I observe, Harris," said the Consul, "that they are erecting houses on the flat opposite to Kanagawa. I suppose the Japanese Government intend this for a second Deshima, but of course we cannot accept that sort of thing."

"Certainly not," replied the Minister. "But that will be a battle you will have to fight since you are the Consul of the port."

On July 1st the Governor, Sakai Oki no Kami came on board to pay his respects to the Minister and the Consul. On this occasion the U. S. Minister intimated to the Governor of Kanagawa that though I had been born in Japan, I was now a naturalized citizen of the United States. He requested that I should be treated as an American citizen and the Governor made a note of his request. And ever from that hour to the present I have been treated as such throughout on all occasions by the authorities.

In the afternoon the English Consul-General (Alcock) visited Minister Harris, while Consul Vyse at the same time saw our Consul. They all had a

long interview in the cabin, but we did not know what then transpired, although we surmised that the subject of their deliberation was the selection of sites for the Consulates as well as for the Foreign Settlement of the port.

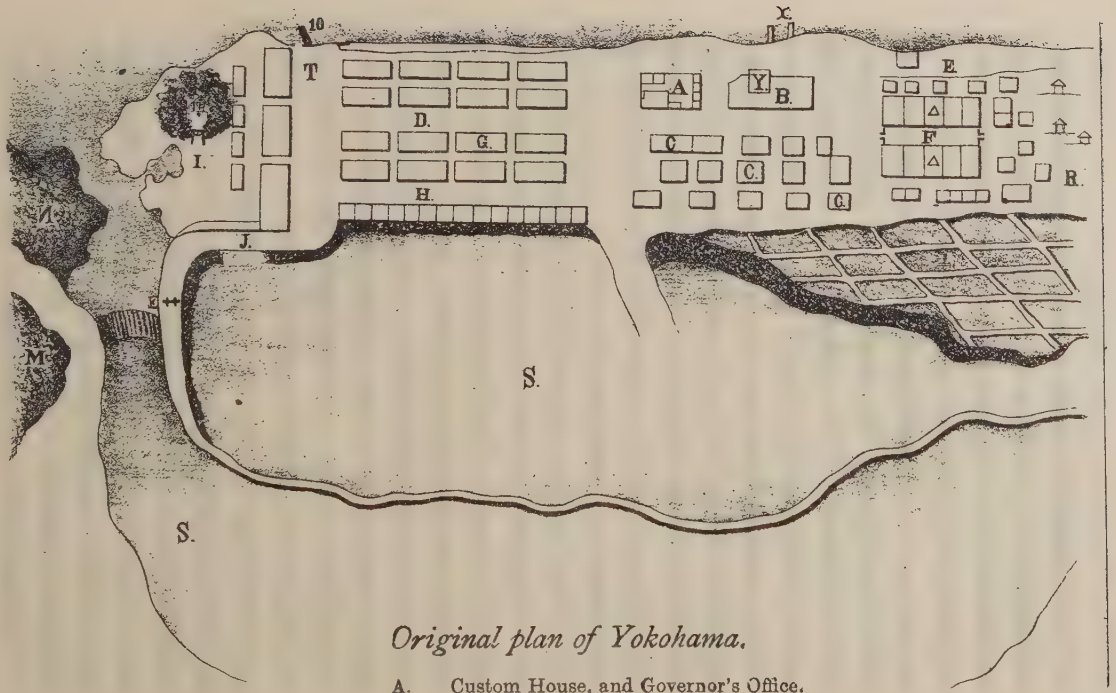
July 1st. The Governor of Kanagawa called on our Consul to discuss the selection of a place of residence for him. The Governor said that he had already built one for him on the shore. The Consul asked where that was, when the Governor replied on Yokohama (the Cross-beach). But the Consul said he wished to have his residence in Kanagawa and not in Yokohama, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, and that he did not care to look at the one already erected. He requested the Governor to furnish him with a few officials to go and inspect the Kanagawa side to silect a site for the Consulate to suit himself.

On the following morning the Governor sent two officers and an interpreter to go with the Consul. They went ashore about 9 o'clock, selected a site and returned at 11.30 a.m. The selection was close to the ferry-landing, the Temple of Hongakuji beautifully situated on a little plateau in a cleft of the hills, overlooking the Bay and Yokohama. In the afternoon I went ashore on the Yokohama side together with the officers of our vessel in order to assist them with their purchases. When we landed

we went straight to the Custom-house where we exchanged our dollars for native coins. Then we started for the native town which was just beginning to spring up on the rice-fields. Some of the shops we entered had been just finished; in others sawing and hammering and planing were still in full swing. We noticed that the plan of the nascent Settlement was very liberal in the matter of the roadway and streets, some of them being twice as wide as these of the usual Japanese town. We already found shops of all kinds, some devoted specially to Curios, Lacquer Ware, and Porcelain, and others to general merchandize.

Over on the other side of the flat, where it was proposed to locate the Foreign Settlement stood Hommura, an insignificant fishing-village with the houses scattered about in an expanse of wheat-fields and vegetable patches. We noticed one or two blocks of new buildings; those in the centre were meant as residences for the foreign Consuls, those on the outer fringe were meant for merchants and others. Right between the proposed Foreign Settlement and the Native Town stood the Custom-house and the Governor's Office, while in the rear of the former a number of buildings were already occupied as places of residence by the native officials.

When my friends the officers of the *Mississippi*



Original plan of Yokohama.

A. Custom House, and Governor's Office.
D. Native Town.
H. Benten-dori.
M.N. Noge-hill.
Y. Where Perry signed first Treaty.

came to pay for the curios they bought at some of the shops, they were astonished to find how much dearer they were than the similar goods they had bought at Nagasaki and Shimoda. They asked me to find out the reason of this. So I inquired, and was told that prices had not advanced in any way, but that the coins with which the officers paid for their purchases were different from those in which they had formerly paid. The shopmen said that the new coin was larger and had more silver in it, and was worth half a Mexican although its face value was only half a *bu*. (There were 3 *bus* of the old coinage in a Mexican.)

When I explained this the Purser said "Oh! I see the Japanese Government has issued a new coinage in accordance with the wording of the Treaty that 'gold and silver shall be received in exchange weight for weight.'"

We bought no more curios, but went and reported the matter to the U. S. Minister. He replied that as soon as he went up to Yedo he would bring the matter before the *Gorōjiu* (Council of State) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and have the matter rectified, until which time he advised the officers not to make any more purchases than they could help.

July 4th, 1859. This was the date that had been fixed for us to land, to take up our residence

on shore, and to formally open the port for trade. The day broke very fine, and at any early hour all the masts in the Bay were gay with bunting. About ten o'clock we landed on the Kanagawa side, and walked up to the Temple of Hongakuji.

In the Temple Cemetery was a large tall tree, and to the topmost branches of this we had tied a pole to serve as a flagstaff. A little before noon the U. S. Minister, Mr. Harris, Consul Dorr, the Captain and the officers of the *Mississippi*, Van Reed and myself, sallied out into this graveyard. At 12 o'clock precisely we ran up the American colours on this flagstaff. Then we opened champagne, sang the *Star-spangled Banner*, and drank "To our prosperity, Long may the Stars and the Stripes wave!" This was the first time in the annals of the place for a foreign flag to be unfurled.

Then we adjourned to the Temple for our first tiffin in Japan. There were present the U. S. Minister, Mr. Harris, Captain Nicolson and his flag Lieutenant, two doctors from the *Mississippi*, Van Reed and myself. We tiffined on fish, boiled chicken, roast duck, vegetables, sweets and wines, but there was no beef nor mutton, for neither beef nor mutton was to be had for either love or money or anything else. On the following day the Minister went up to Yedo to take up his residence there in

terms of the Treaty. He took up his quarters in the Temple of Zenfukuji in Azabu.

Meanwhile we were busy ordering suitable furniture and getting servants. All the business in connection with this had to be transacted through the Government Officials at Kanagawa, for the people of the place had been cautioned by the authorities to have no direct dealings with the foreigners.

Our mess consisted of the Consul, the Clerk, Van Reed and myself. The Consul had brought a Chinese boy and a Chinese cook with him from Shanghai. We also hired some Japanese servants, a house-boy at 8 *bus*, watchman at 10 *bus*, assistant-boy at 6 *bus* and assistant-cook at 10 *bus* per month. On the 21st the Chinese boy ran away, and I went and requested the native authorities to to have him arrested. They complied with the request and brought the fugitive back to the Consulate. We at once discharged him and sent him back to China. Two weeks thereafter the Chinese cook was likewise sent away and thenceforth we had nothing but Japanese servants.

On July 17th I received orders from the Consul to purchase cargo for Messrs. Heard & Co.'s schooner *Wanderer*, the Consul being agent for that firm in Kanagawa. Van Reed and I went over to Yokohama, and in about a week we had

filled the schooner with a miscellaneous cargo of rapeseed oil, vegetable wax, seaweed, dried cuttle-fish, *awabi*, bêche-de-mer, etc. I found great difficulty in making payments for the goods, owing to the unsettled state of the coinage, and a lack of confidence on the part of the dealers in either the foreigners or the coin they tendered. At last I issued P.N.s payable as soon as the rate of exchange had been settled by the authorities, and with the Consular seal as security. The dealers were satisfied with this arrangement.

XIX.

July 21st. As I was returning from the Mayor's office a resident of Kanagawa accosted me with the information that my brother had arrived in Yedo, and having learned that his brother (meaning me) had come back to Kanagawa from America he had come to ascertain the truth of the report. The man asked me whether I would go to his house, or whether he should bring my brother to the Consulate. I thanked him and said I would go to his house. I then went and told the Consul that my brother had come and asked his leave to go to see him.

"By all means!" was his reply. "And bring him up here with you."

Full of excitement I hurried down to the house in the town where I had been told my brother was. I recognized my brother at once, for being a grown man before the time I was cast away he had not changed in any way. But with me it was otherwise. For I had become a man since then, and had become much altered in dress, manner, and

appearance. Consequently my brother could not recognize me. He stood there piteously, looking at me with pain and doubt in his face. He said never a word, but remained staring at me dumbly and sorrowfully, clearly supposing me to be not his brother.

I bowed to him and opened the conversation. I asked him where our stepfather was, how aunt so-and-so did, what had become of our uncle such-a-one, and if our good neighbour such and such was still alive and in good health. These questions seemed at last to convince him that I must be his brother ; else how could I know so much about our towns-people, let alone merely knowing their names?

At last a glad smile began to spread and play over his face, and he began to answer each and all of my questions. And when he was fairly persuaded that I was really his brother he burst out crying, and the great tears rolled down his cheeks at the joy of our meeting again after all the years. The sight of this moved me also to weeping, so that neither of us could utter a word more.

Just then the host and his wife came in with tea and cakes, and then we dried our eyes and resumed our talk. Finally we made an end of it, and then I conducted him to the Consulate and introduced him to Consul.

The Consul was a big, well-made, handsome man standing over 6ft. 2in., with a heavy, gray beard. He advanced in a somewhat airy manner to shake hands with my brother. My brother was afraid of his appearance, and the large hand he stretched out to him and the way in which he stretched it out. He turned and with much apprehension whispered to me:—

"What is he going to do?"

I explained to him that in America it was the custom for people to shake hands when they were introduced, just as it was the custom among us to bow on a similar occasion.

"That is very funny!" he said.

But the explanation sufficed to put him at ease, and he at once took hold of the Consul's hand.

After this the Consul ordered the boy to bring refreshments, and requested me to bring out the illustrated papers, pictures, and photographic views he had. So I brought them and showed them to my brother, and explained to him what each of them represented. This seemed to utterly overpower him with astonishment. For with the exception of a few old papers and glass-bottles which my shipwrecked comrades had brought home as *miyage*, this was the first time in his life he had ever seen the pictures of foreign things. The Consul gave him some foreign coins,

(silver and copper) and some illustrated newspapers to take home with him as curiosities, and he was immensely pleased with the present.

The Consul then requested me to ask my brother to stay a few days at the Consulate. But he thanked the Consul, and said that he had come for one day only to find out the truth of the rumour he had heard in Tokyo. For there he had been told by some that I was from the Province of Harima and his own brother, while others had said that I was from Kishiu.

"And now," he wound up, "that I have found that it is a man of Harima and my own real brother, I must return to Shinagawa by to-morrow."

Then the Consul asked him to stay to dinner and he consented. At dinner before touching any dish he asked me what it was, how it was cooked, and all about it. Then when I explained he would at last taste it cautiously saying "That is curious."

When he left for Shinagawa, I gave him a likeness of myself taken in company with Van Reed in San Francisco just before I started in the *Cooper*. The picture was on glass and was called ambrotype. My brother took it home and shewed it to all our relatives and friends and in about six months time the news of it spread and reached the ears of the authorities in Osaka. My brother was summoned by them to appear before them with this mysterious

and much-talked of picture. So he went and for more than six long weeks he was kept at his hotel, doing nothing *at his own expense*. Then he was told to leave the ambrotype there and to return to his occupation. About six months afterwards he was again sent for by the Governor of Osaka. So he went up a second time, and the Governor returned the ambrotype to him, charging him strictly to shew it to no one outside the limits of his family. All this was related to me by my brother at a later visit. And he added that his taking home that likeness of myself and the foreigner (Van Reed) had cost him many *rios*.

XX.

At last we received notice from the U. S. Minister that the difficulty about the coinage had been adjusted, and that the *Gorōjiu* had consented to stop the new issue of coins and resume the old standard of 3 *bus* to the Mexican dollar. On the following day I took several thousand dollars to the Custom-house and converted them into "bu" with which I redeemed the P.N.'s I had given to the native dealers at the time we bought the cargo for the *Wanderer*.

No sooner had the coinage question been settled than the land question came up. The English, Dutch and American Consuls had agreed among themselves that Kanagawa should be the site of the Foreign Settlement. But the Foreign merchants were not of their opinion at all. For at Kanagawa the water was shallow, while Yokohama afforded much better facilities for shipping and trade. Besides as Kanagawa was on the course of the Tōkaidō, the great public highway, along which *Daimio's* trains were constantly pass-

ing, the native authorities were also anxious that the Foreign Settlement should not be established there. For they were aware that many of the *Daimios* were hostile to the Shōgun's Government and anxious for its overthrow. And they knew that for this reason many of the *Daimios'* retainers called *rōnin*, that is "wave men," or outlaws, would surely fall upon the foreigners with the sole idea of embroiling the supporters of the Shogunate with the Foreign Powers, in order that they themselves might have a better chance of raising the standard of rebellion against it.

But of this fact the Consuls were ignorant. They fancied that in endeavouring to locate the Foreign Settlement on the Yokohama side, the Japanese authorities were merely trying to make a second Deshima, (the artificial island in the harbour of Nagasaki where the Dutchmen had been cooped up in the early days of their trade and intercourse with Japan). In this belief they all strongly insisted that Kanagawa should be the site of the future Foreign Settlement as stipulated in the Treaty of 1858.

One day the U. S. Consul and I waited upon the Governor to discuss the question. The Governor (Hori-ori Þinosho) said that he would have no objection to Kanagawa whatsoever, were it not on account of the highway and the consequent

difficulty of protecting foreigners from the assaults of the lawless men who were opposed to the Foreigners' coming into the country, and who would certainly do all in their power to injure them. Besides, he said, on account of the shallow water, the place would be found inconvenient for shipping.

To this the Consul replied that the Governor must be aware that with respect to the Foreign Settlement, it was stipulated in the Treaty of 1858 that Kanagawa was to be the place of the Foreign Settlement and that nothing was said about Yokohama at all. The Governor answered that perhaps the Consul was unaware that his countryman Perry who made the Treaty with this country made no distinction between Kanagawa and Yokohama.

"For," went in the Governor, "when he signed that Treaty he signed it right under those trees by the boat house close to the Custom-house, there," (here he pointed to the Custom-house over on the Yokohama side) "and Yokohama was then, and now is, nothing more than the side beach of Kanagawa. It is not a distinct place at all but only a portion of Kanagawa."

The Consul then look his departure saying that he would investigate this matter with his colleagues.

At length, however Dr. Hall of Walsh & Co.

was found bold enough to back the merchants' view of the case. On his own responsibility he procured a plot of land on the Yokohama side, and proceeded to establish himself here. This was quite in defiance of the Consul's view, but Dr. Hall was a practical man and saw the immense advantages over Kanagawa possessed by Yokohama in facilities for shipping. The land he occupied is now known as No. 2 Bund. After that a guest of Walsh & Co. secured the lot next to No. 2, now known as No. 3, while Jardine and Matheson soon after selected No. 1, and Dent & Co. Nos. 4 and 5.

Thus the Consul's notion of having the Settlement in Kanagawa had to be given up. For no merchants or foreigners would settle there, with the exception of the Consuls themselves and some missionaries who came later on. And even they ultimately shifted over to Yokohama.

In the latter part of July the schooner *Fenimore Cooper* arrived from her cruise, all well on board. Capt. Brooke made an official call on the Consul, and the Consul and I made a return call next day. The Consul invited Capt. Brooke to dinner on the following evening. He accepted the invitation, and appeared at the Consulate at the appointed time in undress uniform, and wearing a sword. At the dinner a peculiar incident occurred. In the course of the conversation

the Consul asked me how I had got along after I left the protection of the U. S. Government at San Francisco. I told him that I had some friends on board the cutter who took care of me. He then wished to know who was the commander of the cutter and I answered "that unprincipled man H———," or words to that effect. Upon this the Consul said:—

"Now, Joseph, don't speak of that Captain in that way. He is my friend, and if you dare to repeat such words at my table again I'll kick you out through that door!"

I replied that I was sorry that he was the Consul's friend, and that I was merely expressing my private opinion of the man based on his treatment of me whilst I was on board his vessel, and asked if I had not a perfect right to express my opinion of a man who had decidedly been no friend to me.

"No, you have not,—not in that way" said the Consul.

At this point my friend Capt. Brooke took the matter up. "Mr. Consul" he remarked, "you said that Capt. H. is your friend. What Mr. Heco said about him was only the expression of his private opinion. Yet you say that if Mr. Heco repeats such language again you will kick him out through that door. Now, I am a friend of Mr.

Heco's, and I should just like to see you dare to do it."

The Consul said that Capt. Brooke was his guest and had no right to interfere in the matter. Capt. Brooke replied that if he was his guest, he (the Consul) had no right to use such language before his guest, but since he had used it he (Capt. Brooke) had a perfect right to interfere, since it had been addressed to a friend of his. While this hot discussion was in progress a pig's head came on the table. The Consul took up the knife and fork and began to carve. And as he did so, he said:—

"If any man dares to interfere with my business at my table, I should just like to shoot him right across this pig's head!"

This the Captain chose to regard as a challenge. So he first flushed up, and then he grew very white and very stern and he said very quietly, but at the same time with a cold hard ring in his tone:—

"General D., I accept that challenge. Choose your weapon and step outside!"

And saying so, he rose from the table.

At this point Van Reed got up and stopped Capt. Brooke from going any further, and tried to smoothe the matter over, and I also besought the Captain "not to take my part so much in earnest." The Consul too said by way of apology that he did

not mean what he said as a challenge but only as a joke, and that he did not care to fight a duel. However, he said, that if he did, he had no weapons in the house. Capt. Brooke at once retorted that he had the sword he wore on the day of his formal visit to the *Cooper*, and that besides he must still have the Colt's revolver which he (Capt. Brooke) had given him at his request for the protection of the Consulate. Then the Consul laughed and said he did not know how to use either of them and invited us all to "have a drink." And this ended the matter.

On August 7th, a fierce gale blew overnight and the *Cooper* went ashore on the Yokohama beach. All hands and the instruments on board were saved. On the 20th the Consul ordered a survey of the wrecked schooner in order to determine whether if repaired she would be sea-worthy or not. Her hull was apparently all right, but we found 39 of her ribs rotten, and other parts of her also in bad condition. So she was condemned as unseaworthy and subsequently sold at auction.

On August 21st, the Consul and I were invited to dinner by the Governors of Kanagawa (Sakai Oki no Kami, and Midzuno Chikugo no Kami) at their office. Here for the first time we were entertained to a native repast of a first-class order, the *saké* and all the accessories of a Japanese banquet.

Meanwhile the Russian fleet under Admiral Popoff had appeared in Yedo Bay and had anchored at Shinagawa. One day they sent a boat with some officers and men to Yokohama for fresh provisions. On their way back to their boat at the jetty, some native fell upon the party with a heavy sword, and killed one of them outright and wounded others severely.

News of this was communicated to the Consulate by the native authorities about six o'clock. We hastened to the scene and found that the dead man and the wounded had been taken to Captain Brooke's temporary quarters. The officer (a midshipman) had been killed by a single cut from behind. This had been sufficient to finish him outright, and no wonder, for his entrails were visible from behind. The wounded men had been slightly cut on the head and arms. At this time there was no foreign practising doctor in Yokohama, so Dr. Hall of Walsh & Co. took charge of the case. After the deed the assassin had fled and escaped in safety.

Over-night the Russian Admiral came down in a corvette. The native authorities actively bestirred themselves to find and arrest the murderer. And in the foreign community of Yokohama there was wild excitement and alarm, and talk of nothing but of means to protect the Settlement.

Then the dead man was prepared for burial and on the third day after the coming down of the Russian Admiral the funeral took place with military honours. The corvette landed her marines and all the Consuls together with their staffs, and the foreign residents attended. And this was the first foreign funeral in Yokohama. It was reported at the time that the Admiral had requested the presence of the Governors at the funeral, and that the Governors had replied that they would be glad to attend, were it not that such a thing was contrary to Japanese custom and usage. They therefore begged to be excused, offering to send some officers to represent them. The Admiral told him that they certainly *must* attend the ceremony in person, and that no excuse could be accepted.

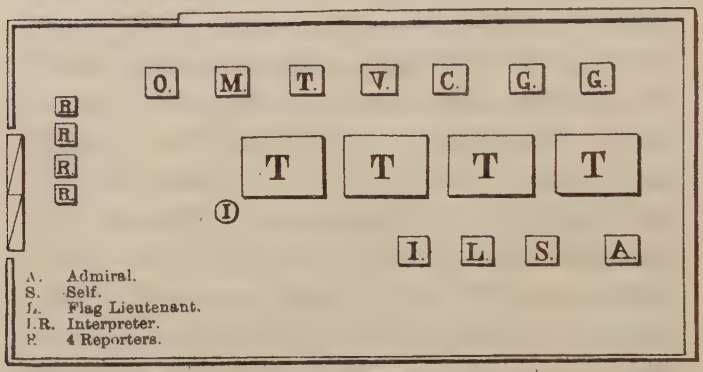
So the old custom had to be infringed and one of the Governors attended by 12 officers had to appear at the ceremony. They followed the cortège at some distance, and this was the only occasion on which the Governor's retainers did not call out to the populace "Down on your Knees!" as was the wont when the Governor moved abroad in the streets and highways and byeways within his jurisdiction. It was said by the natives at the time that the Governor's compliance with the Admiral's demand was sorely against the grain, and that he

went to the funeral against his will and against custom so that his Government might not be embroiled with the Admiral's country.

On the following day Admiral Popoff with his Flag Lieutenant called at our Consulate to thank us for our attendance at the funeral. In the course of the conversation the Consul asked the Admiral whether the native authorities had arrested the assassin. The Admiral said that they had not as yet done so, that he had had several interviews with the Governors of Kanagawa, but there had been great difficulty in their understanding each other, by reason of the want of a good interpreter. Upon this the Consul proffered my services, if I had no objection to act. I said I had none, and the Admiral said he would be most happy to avail himself of our offer, and would arrange an interview with the Governors of Kanagawa when he would take the liberty of sending for me.

Two days later he sent a boat with an officer to fetch me. So I went off to his corvette and from thence went to the Governor's office in Yokohama. Our party consisted of the Admiral, his Flag Lieut., a young interpreter (who spoke English, French and a little Japanese) and myself. We were ushered into the audience room where we seated ourselves. We were there only a few minutes when the two Governors (Midzuno Chikugo no

Kami and Sakai Oki no Kami) entered followed by their subordinates and took up their positions as in the following plan:—



Audience Chamber.

The two Governors, the Censor, the Vice-Governor Treasurer, Mayor and ordinary officers seated themselves at the table opposite to us, while their two interpreters stood in the position indicated. Four reporters, with papers, books, brush and ink squatted on the mat at the foot of the room.

In reply to the Admiral's questions the Governor made the following statement:—

As soon as the Governors had learned that foreigners had been attacked and one of them killed by some unknown native in the streets of Yoko-

hama, they had immediately ordered their officers to arrest the assassin. But when they reached the scene they found that the assassin had fled. And though ever since that time they had been diligently searching for the culprit, yet he could not be found. However, one of the officers of the searching party had found the following articles, viz.;—A tin-box half broken open, close to Yoshida-bashi in Yoshida-shinden; a piece of a broken sword-blade near to where the Russian Midshipman fell, and a torn fragment of a brown camlet *haori* or upper garment. In the tin-box they had found several coins.

At this point the Governors ordered their subordinates to bring in these articles and shew them to the Admiral. The latter examined them, and found in the tin-box mentioned some Russian silver coins, about nine or ten inches of a broken sword-blade, and a portion of a camlet "haori." This latter was spotted and spattered with blood-stains.

The Admiral then inquired whether the officers were still exerting themselves to find and arrest the assassin or assassins. The Governors replied that they certainly were doing their utmost to find them and bring them to justice.

This finished the business which it had taken two hours to transact. At the end of it we were treated to a native tiffin.

In another day or two Admiral Popoff sent for me to come on board his vessel, as he had arranged another and a final interview with the Governors of Kanagawa before his departure for Yedo. When I arrived there I found one of the Governors with six of his subordinate officials.

The Admiral stated that he could not wait any longer in Yokohama and before he proceeded to Yedo he desired to learn from the Governor whether the assassins had been arrested, or whether any clue to them had been found. To this the Governor replied that they had been doing their utmost to find a clue, but that up to then "they had been rather unfortunate and had failed to find out anything about them."

At 1 p.m. we had tiffin in the cabin. It was served in regular Russian style and was an utterly new experience to me. They had plenty of garlic and brown bread which the Admiral recommended to me as very healthy fare, and told me to do justice to them. But not being used to these articles I rather fought shy of them, and paid attention to the other dishes which were really excellent.

About 3 p.m. the Governor and his suite went on shore. The Admiral then asked me to come on deck. I went and we talked as we walked to and fro. He asked me whether I fancied the Japanese

authorities were earnest in their endeavours to find and arrest the assassins. I said I really thought they were, and he said he was inclined to be of my opinion from the serious manner the Governors seemed to speak of the case. At this point the Admiral linked his arm in mine and said something to the following effect:—

"Now Mr. Heco, you have been of great service to us, and I wish to recompense you in some way. What would you wish? Please name it, and if it is in my power, I will do it with the greatest pleasure. For if it had not been for you I could not have found out so much as I have from the Governor of Kanagawa."

I said I did not wish anything as the services I had rendered were so very slight. But the Admiral said:—

"That will never do; but we'll see."

Shortly after this I bade the Admiral good-bye and came on shore. On the following day I went out with the U. S. Consul and the Governor of Kanagawa to select and survey the lands intended for American residents on the Kanagawa side. In our absence Admiral Popoff called at the Consulate to say *sayonara*. He left a gold watch with Van Reed for me, with a message to the effect that the watch had been worn by him for some time, and that he wished me to accept it as a slight token of

his recognition of the services I had lately rendered him.

When we came back from the survey, and while we (*i.e.* the Governor, two of his officers, the Consul and myself) were seated at table taking tea, Clerk Van Reed brought in this watch for me. The Consul looked at it and handed it to the Governor and asked me to tell him that the Russian Admiral had presented it to me on the occasion of my interpreting for him. The Governor then said that his Government was also under obligation to me and that he intended to present me with something by and by.

Some days after Admiral Popoff had reached Yedo it was said that he had presented three demands to the Shōgun's Government through the *Gorōjiu*. These were.

1st. To remove the Governors of Kanagawa for their neglect in not arresting the assassins at the time the attack was made.

2nd. To cede one half of the Island of Saghalien to Russia, as an indemnity for the carelessness of the Shōgun's Government on the above occasion.

3rd. To spare nó time or efforts or money to find, arrest and punish the assassin or assassins, and to notify the Russian authorities of the arrest as soon as made.

Whether the rumour was correct or not I can-

not say. Only judging from what followed the first demand would certainly seem to have been made. In about a week's time Mizuno and Sakai disappeared from Yokohama and were never seen there again. A new Governor, Shimmei Buzen no Kami by name took their places and held the post till he was sent to America as first Japanese Ambassador in 1860.

XXI.

In the month of September the Consul sent me to order some crêpe and silk for him. A man called Saikaya, a silk-dealer well known in the town, brought the samples to the Consulate. He had heard of my history, and shewed a great wish to talk with me about what I had seen, and he and I became firm friends. In the course of one of our conversations I happened to say that though I took a cold bath daily, yet I should like exceedingly to have a hot one, but that was still impossible since our hot-bath had not yet been fitted up. He at once said that he had a big one at his house, and that he would be delighted to have a bath prepared for me whenever I wished. So I at once took him at his word and asked him to prepare one for me next afternoon.

Next day about two o'clock he sent his son, a boy about 15 years old, to say that the bath was ready. I went down at once. When I arrived I found an official of the local Government with his servant in my friend's reception room with tea and

cakes before them. I happened to know the official; so I saluted him and asked him what he was doing there. He smiled and said he was there because he had heard that I was coming to take a bath, and that he had been directed by the Mayor of Kanagawa to guard and protect my person and to see that I came by no harm. He said that personally he thought that sort of thing extremely ridiculous, since they knew that I was born in the country, although I claimed to be an American; but that such was the custom and regulation then in force.

During this month of September, merchants and traders from China ports and elsewhere began to flock into Kanagawa, and in consequence the Settlement of Yokohama began to gather dimensions apace, and trade became brisker and brisker day by day.

September 7th. The Consul gave his first dinner to the Governors of Kanagawa and their officers to the number of seven at our Consulate. The guests seemed to relish the foreign cookery; in fact judging from their gestures of approval they enjoyed it amazingly.

A few days afterward the Governor of Kanagawa invited the Consul and myself to dinner at Noge-hill. We accepted and immediately began to prepare for the event. On account of his size,

it was not possible for the Consul to find a Japanese *norimono* that would hold him; they were all too small. So he caused a huge one to be specially built for him. After some difficulty he got into this, and with still more difficulty he was safely hoisted Chinese-fashion upon the shoulders of six sturdy coolies. Then I got on horseback attended by my *betto*, while the Consul's "boy" and the other two servants acted as our body-guard. The three servants were made to wear a sword each which the Consul had purchased expressly for the occasion. But the Consul's "boy." Kenzo at first refused to wear one, being mightily afraid of cutting himself. But the Consul said that every man must do his duty and that "he must wear that sword and no mistake about it." So the boy carefully picked out the smallest and shortest of the three blades and stuck it in his girdle. But I could see that it made him uncomfortable, for he walked along with much shaking and loosening of the knees.

Then the procession started. It was a grand and overpowering affair, and all the people of the town came crowding out to gaze upon us as we passed. Ahead of the Consul in his monster-sized *norimono* went the dauntless Kenzo, while his two fellow-servants walked on each side of the Consul to protect his valuable life from casual assaults.

I rode on horseback in his rear, while my *betto* came behind me as whipper-in to the procession.

And thus in this array we fared along the Tokaido, and then turned to the left to the Yokohama Causeway and at last we came to Noge-hill, the residence of the Governor. And all along the road the people crowded to see us pass in unfeigned amazement and respect (?).

When we reached the gate the officials of the Governor were there to receive us. They bowed low and led us into the courtyard. There the Consul and I dismounted, and once more the officials bowed low before us and conducted us into the reception room, where we found the Governor and his staff. Then took place the usual long and formal greeting of each other, and at last when the ceremonies of salutation were finally done and ended, cups of tea were set before us.

Presently dinner was announced and we were solemnly ushered into another room. Here we found a European table set out, an exact fac-simile of the one in our Consulate. Only instead of plates, the dinner was served on Japanese tables or trays, one placed before each guest on the main table. The fare consisted of raw fish, soup, fish cooked and broiled, fowls and eggs. The attendants were males, arrayed in all the glory of *haori* and *hakama*. This dinner was a grand and great

function and we enjoyed it heartily. It was the first dinner ever given to foreigners at the Governor's residence.

In the course of this month the trade in *koban* and native swords became unusually brisk. And about this time it seemed good to the Government at Yedo to issue a notice to the effect that this traffic must cease, and that any native detected in selling *koban* or swords to foreigners from this time henceforth would be severely punished.

But notwithstanding, this very trade went on flourishing apace. Overnight the native dealers would come to the foreign quarters with stores of *koban* concealed in the folds of their garments. For the profits they made by selling them were immense, while such foreigners as were lucky enough to secure these coins also did a good deal more than a very good thing. For the *koban* could be got for 6½ to 7½ *bu* each, that is for from $2.17 to $2.73 at the rate of 3 *bu* to the dollar, while it was sold in China for from $3.50 to $3.85, and when sold as a curio it fetched as much as $5 or $7. Swords too costing 3, 4, or 10 *bu* each could be sold as curios for from $10 to $20, if sent out of the country. But on account of their bulk it was more difficult to bring them to market, and the law was very severe on the vendor if

caught, at it regarded the selling of weapons of war to foreigners as a weighty offence.

In the beginning of October the barque *Onward* came in from San Francisco with several passengers among whom was a Mr. K. He brought a letter of introduction from my old friend and first employer Mr. T. G. Cary of California. In the course of the *Onward's* stay for procuring cargo, Mr. K. and myself had some conversation on matters of business. He advised me to leave the Consulate and enter into commerce, saying that if I cared to enter into partnership with him he would furnish all the necessary capital. He said he knew many wealthy men in San Francisco from whom he could get money and business. With my knowledge of the language we could make a fortune in a very short time.

About two days before he left he drew up a memorandum of partnership in which it was stipulated that if I joined him he was to furnish all the capital and fittings for house and office, while I should give my services only, all profits to be equally divided between us. This looked to me a very advantageous offer, as my salary at that time was small, and my term of engagement with the Consul not fixed. So I closed with Mr. K.'s proposal and we both signed the document. He promised to return in the March of the following year,

and then I was to join him in opening a house in Yokohama.

In the course of this month another foreigner was killed at the native jetty in Yokohama. This time it was a Chinaman, a shipping coolie in the employment of Dent & Co. This assassin also fled and escaped and has never been discovered or arrested even unto this day.

January 1860. Our Minister had arranged with the Japanese authorities that they should send an Embassy to America, and that the said Embassy should be conveyed there and back at the expense of the U. S. Government. In consequence the U. S. Government had sent a supply of coal for the vessel that was to carry the Ambassadors, and the Japanese had sent down an old hulk—the *Yakkai-maru*—to store it in against the arrival of the U. S. ship. Van Reed was ordered to go and superintend the transference and storage of this coal.

Shortly after the year set in, Dan, one of my shipwrecked comrades who had been engaged with the British Consul-General, had been cut down at Takanawa, in the midst of the highway in open daylight. He was helping some boys to fly their kites in the street about 4 p.m. Suddenly a man, with a great broad straw-hat down over his face came behind him, plunged a cruelly-sharp dirk into

Dan's back, twisted it round in the wound to "mak siccar," and ran off like a deer. Dan shouted for help and staggered into the gate of the Consulate. After a few paces he fell with the blood pouring from him in streams, and in a few minutes life had left him. The Consul-General and his staff did all they could for him, but to no purpose. And as for this assassin, he also fled and escaped, and has never been discovered or arrested even unto this day.

After this occurrence, it was reported that about a week before the Governors of Foreign Affairs had gone to the British Legation and requested the Minister to allow Dan to go to the Kanagawa Consulate for a few months as the Government were afraid lest some mishap might befall him. This the Consul-General had regarded in the light of an ordinary Japanese threat, and accordingly he told the native authorities that Dan was an employé of the Legation and under the British Flag, and that he (the Consul-General) would see to it that he was protected.

In the latter part of January there came into port the U. S. ship *Powhatan*, which was to convey the Embassy to America. The native steamer *Kanriu-maru* of the Shōgun's Government also anchored in the port. She was to accompany the Embassy as far as San Francisco. Captain J. M. Brooke, late of the *Fennimore Cooper*, offered his

services to pilot the *Kanriu* as far as San Francisco, and his offer was gratefully accepted. I went with Captain Brooke to arrange the matter through the Governors of Kanagawa and of Foreign Affairs.

February 2nd. Capt. Brooke requested me to accompany him to the Governor of Kanagawa to deliver up his good and faithful servant "Tim," whom at my request he had shipped at Honolulu and brought home to his country. So I went with the Captain, taking Tim with us, and a bag of money to the amount of $230, the accumulated wages which Capt. Brooke had allowed him for his services. When we arrived at the Governor's office Capt. Brooke opened the interview by stating that he had come to deliver the man "Tim" whom he had found at Honolulu and brought back to Japan.

"He is a faithful and obedient servant" said Capt. Brooke, "and has worked most willingly."

He then handed over the bag with the Mexican dollars, and requested the Governor to have them exchanged for native currency, and handed to the man. The Governor said he would do so with pleasure, and thanked Capt. Brooke for taking such good care of a Japanese subject, and bringing him safely home.

We afterwards learned that Tim was kept for

a few days at Kanagawa under the care of the Governor. Then he was escorted to Yedo by two subordinate officials of the Governor, and there delivered to the *Daimio* of his native Province (Awa). He was by his authority subjected to an examination as to how and when he had left Japan, and where he had been. About two months after this, his *Daimio* made him a *Fuchi-nin*, allowing him to wear two swords, and gave him a daily allowance of rice and sent him home to his province. And in this position he continued until after the Revolution of 1868, when his allowance was stopped by the new Government.

February 5th. I was requested by the Governor of Kanagawa to ask Capt. Brooke to call at his office next day, and to accompany him there myself. When we went, the Governor said that the Shōgun's Government had sent down some presents to Capt. Brooke, as a token of their appreciation of the offer of his services to pilot the *Kanriu-maru* to San Francisco, and that he now wished to hand them over to him. So saying he produced a white wooden tray on a stand, and on it a sword-blade in a white scabbard, and five pieces of embroidered silk.

On February 13th the Japanese Embassy went on board the *Powhatan*. It consisted of two Chief Ambassadors, Shimmei Buzen no Kami and Mura-

gaki, Awaji no Kami, the Censor Oguri, Bungo no Kami, and about 15 under-officials, and Interpreters. With the servants attached to it the Embassy consisted of 72 persons in all.

When the Embassy went on board I was asked by the U. S. Consul to go and assist in interpreting, and I did so. Afterwards I went on board the *Kanriu-maru* to say *sayonara* to Capt. Brooke. Here I was introduced to the Governor of the Navy, Kimura, Settsu no Kami, to Capt. Katsu, officer Nakahama and others.

Perhaps this was the first time in the history of the Tokugawas that they had despatched an Embassy to Western countries.

At the close of February I quitted the Consular service. But I agreed to act as Consul's Interpreter without remuneration whenever my services might he required, as a small return for all the kindness I had received at the hands of the Americans during my sojourn in their country. And I continued to interpret until I left for America in the latter part of 1861.

XXII.

On leaving the Consulate, I started business as a General Commission Agent in Yokohama, pending the arrival of my partner from California.

On March 10th the barque *What Cheer* came in from San Francisco with my partner, and Mr. E. S. Benson, and a few other passengers on board. She had $10,000 in treasure, but no cargo. The vessel and the treasure were consigned to our new firm. When I went on board, my partner told me that the vessel had been chartered by his friends Messrs. P. & B. of San Francisco at his suggestion, and that the vessel and the $10,000 he had brought as "starter" of our business were alike under his sole control. He also brought all the necessary furniture and fittings for our house and office. But beyond this there was nothing, and inasmuch as the $10,000 had to be invested in merchandize to be sent back on the barque, there was no great abundance of the wherewithal to conduct our operations. When K. landed he had not a dollar to his name, and I had to advance the sum necessary for

preparing the office, for rent, and generally for carrying on the business. A few days afterwards I rented a house attached to the Custom-house and there we started business, and some little time later on I removed from Kanagawa to Yokohama.

We found it difficult to buy cargo for the *What Cheer* at once, owing to the depreciation of the dollar. The native dealers would not accept the foreign dollars at the Government rate, while the Government Mint at Yedo was totally unable to coin sufficient for foreign exchange. To get our $10,000 turned into Japanese money at the Custom-house would take about two months, as there was a limitation to the daily amount that might be exchanged there.

So until these $10,000 could be converted into native currency, we advertised for freight for Hongkong, and sent the *What Cheer* there with a full cargo. After we had despatched her we went on exchanging our dollars day by day. But the process was so slow that by the return of our vessel we calculated that we should have barely half the amount of our money converted into *bu.* So one day I requested the native authorities at the Custom-house to grant me the exchange of, say $5,000, at once as a special favour. To this the Vice-Governor, Shibata Sadataro, replied by letter that he could not grant any such favour to a for-

eigner, inasmuch as it would establish a precedent. However since the Government had for long wished to make me some recognition of the services I had rendered them in connection with the Russian Affair, they would grant me the immediate exchange of $2,500. This helped us greatly; in the required time we had bought cargo for the vessel, and when she returned from Hongkong we loaded her and sent her back to San Francisco, to the complete satisfaction of the people at that end. But I lost all my profit on the exchange.

March 25th, 1860. The day was dark and it was snowing furiously. I was in bed at Kanagawa, unwell, with no intention of getting up and venturing abroad in such a snow-fall. About 11 o'clock I got a note from the Consulate, requesting me to come to the Consulate at once without delay, inasmuch as a despatch had just been received saying that the Prince Regent, Ii Kamon no Kami, had been assassinated in the Streets of Yedo, while on the way to the Castle. I at once hurried to the Consulate, where the Consul gave me the Minister's despatch to read.

When this occurrence became known there was great excitement and alarm among foreign residents, while all sorts of rumours were passing from mouth to mouth among the natives. The latter seemed to be overpowered and stricken help-

less at the idea of the Regent of the Empire being struck down in the midst of his four hundred retainers by a few desperate outlawed men. It was reported that the Government at Yedo had notified to all the Foreign Representatives that the Prince Regent had been attacked by *rōnins*, but that his wounds were slight and that his life was in no danger. And it was said that on account of this intimation the British Minister (who had been a military or naval doctor) had offered his services to attend on the Prince, if the Yedo Government so desired. And that the Shōgun's Government thanked him for his offer but declined it, saying that the Prince Regent was progressing favourably. Notwithstanding this statement on the part of the Japanese authorities, about two weeks later they had to intimate to the Foreign Representatives that the Regent had died from wounds received at the hands of assassins. The fact of the case however was that the Prince's head had been shorn from his shoulders by one of the sons of the *Daimios* of Mito at the time of the attack. For the occurrence had been witnessed by many natives who had happened to be on the scene at the time.

Owing to this mishap to the Prince the revenues of his successor were reduced from 350,000 *koku* to 240,000 *koku*, as a punishment for the head of the house neglecting to guard himself proper-

ly against any such attack. Under such circumstances, such a punishment was customarily inflicted.

The cause of the occurrence, I was informed at the time from an authentic native source, was as follows :—

Under the Government of the Shōgun the *Daimio* were classified as *Kokushiu*, *Tozama*, and *Fudai*, together with the royal houses of the *Sanke* and *Sankio*. The *Sanke* were the *Daimio* of Kii, Owari and Mito, the *Sankio* being Shimidzu, Tayasu, and Hitotsubashi.

Of the *Sanke*, Kii and Owari were eligible for the Shōgunate, when there was no heir of the direct line of the Shoguns. Now the house of Mito was ineligible for that position, although during the minority of the Shōgun the Vice-Shōgunate was always open to it if no Regent were appointed. Even in the case of a Regent being named, Mito always acted conjointly with him.

Now at this time the *Daimio* of Mito was a very ambitious man and anxious above all things to become Shōgun. But he could not become Shōgun openly and legally. But at this time there was no heir in the house of Hitotsubashi, so he got his seventh son adopted into that house with a view to placing the same at the helm of the State at some future date. And should the young Hitotsubashi become Shōgun, the old *Daimio* of Mito

would then be Vice-Shōgun, and would so wield the sway of the whole Empire with his own hands.

At this time the reigning Shōgun Iyesada was quite young and old Mito was his guardian. Being thus Vice-Shōgun and continually at the Castle he intrigued with one of the physicians of the Court to get the boy Shōgun removed, in order that his own son Hitotsubashi might reign in his stead. This was an easy matter to accomplish, for in those times it was the daily custom of the Court Physician to feel his Master's pulse and administer medicine to him whether he was sick or not. And thus it came to pass that Iyesada died of poison in 1858.

This plot was detected by the Prince Ii-Kamon-no-Kami, who held council with the dignitaries of the Shōgun's Government on the subject. The physician who did the deed was arrested, and on being examined confessed how and at whose instigation he had made away with his Lord. Whereupon sentence of death was passed upon him. And the Lord of Mito was dismissed from the office of Vice-Shōgun, and ordered to retire to his own province and confine himself in his own castle as a punishment.

After this a new ministry was formed and a new Shōgun was selected from the stock of Kii. This Shōgun was still a Minor, so a Regent was appointed from one of the two houses from which

a Regent could be selected, and this Regent was Ii Kamon no Kami, the man who had detected and exposed the plot of the Lord of Mito.

And so this Lord of Mito found all his plans reduced to naught, for not only had his son in the house of Hitotsubashi failed to become Shōgun, but he himself had been stripped of all his power and banished ingloriously to his Castle in his Province. Now at this his household and his retainers were sorely angered. And 37 men of his following headed by one of his sons vowed vengeance against the Prince Regent Ii Kamon no Kami and lay in wait for him. And at last in the midst of the whirling snow-drift of the 25th of March they had succeeded in their fell design, and had killed and cut off and carried away the head of the Regent as he was on his way to the Castle to pay his respects to the Shōgun and to felicitate him. The day was one of the five grand holidays of the land, and the Regent's progress towards the Castle was in true feudal style. Four hundred trusty henchmen followed in his train. But on account of the driving sleet they had donned rain-coats to prevent their arms and dress taking damage from the storm, and hence when the attack of the 37 Mito *rōnins* burst upon them, they were hampered and impeded. These thirty-seven men had been lurking in disguise, waiting for their chance for months, and now at last

this darkling snowy day of March had brought it. And brought it in such wondrous fashion too, for in accordance with Japanese ideas of the vendetta, the moment of revenge or retribution should be that of the victim's proudest triumph.

At the time it was told with bated breath, and even to this day you will hear the story with head-shakings and solemn looks from gray-beards that were young men at the time, how when he was about to step into his sedan-chair the string of the Regent's *mage* (top-knot) broke asunder suddenly, and how his family urged him not to go, but to send a representative and to keep indoors and stay at home himself. For the breaking of the top-knot tie was an evil omen. But the Regent would not listen, and ordered the knot to be retied and started off. And in the lapse of a few minutes he was a corpse.

April 1860. In the course of this month there was yet another assassination in Yokohama. This time the victims were Dutchmen, the Captains of a barque and of a brig then in port. It seemed that about dusk the twain were walking quietly in the Main Street of the native town, when without any warning a man crept up behind and fell upon them with a sword and cut them down. One of the Dutchmen left his hat and an arm about two blocks away from his body, according to the statement of

an eye-witness. And the assassin fled and escaped and he has never been detected or arrested even unto this day.

May. Since the opening of the place to trade, foreign merchants and dealers have been swarming into Yokohama from the China ports and elsewhere. And on the other hand the natives have been flocking into the town from all parts of the country. When the Port was first opened the Government of Yedo had circulated a notice to the effect that such of its subjects as desired to settle in the new town should there hold their lands tax-free for three years. But very few folks of good name and repute responded to the inducement, and those who came were mostly broken men, mere adventurers and speculators who had but little to lose and possibly something to gain. And this was so, it was reported, because respectable persons were afraid to come in contact with the foreign "barbarians," with their strange speech and uncouth, outlandish ways.

June. About this time the increase in the foreign population caused much embarrassment at the Custom House. It was there that the dollars had to be exchanged for native coins. Now the Mint of Yedo was unable to meet the demand made upon it, and on account of this the authorities notified that no one could exchange more than 10

dollars *per diem*. Hence it came to pass that some people made application for exchange under fictitious names.

July 4th. At Yokohama we meant to have a dinner to celebrate the "Glorious Fourth" for the second time in Japan. But few if any of the residents had ever thought of hoisting flags, for the reason that scarcely any of them had American flags. On the 3rd, however, one of our fellow-residents called at the U. S. Consulate at Kanagawa and in the course of conversation with the Consul remarked that it was his intention to hoist the American flag on the 4th to celebrate the day. Upon this the Consul told him that no American, not an official, could hoist his country's flag in the Settlement without special permission from the Consul, and that if any one should hoist the American flag in Yokohama he (the Consul) would come over and pull it down.

This was reported to the Americans in Yokohama, and angered them greatly. They determined to resent it and to give the Consul an opportunity of making good his threat. During the night they set all the native tailors in the town to work upon the American flag. And next morning the Stars and Stripes were floating over every American residence in the Settlement. But that Consul did not come over and pull down these

Matsuri Procession.

flags, nor did he even send a deputy to do it for him.

July 13th. This was a great day in the annals of the native town. It was the first celebration of the *matsuri* or festival of the Goddess Benten in the place. From early morning no fewer them 6 *Dashi* or dancing-cars were in the streets, adorned with figures of warriors, gods and goddesses. They were drawn through the streets by bevies of handsomely dressed *geisha*, stopping here and there and giving exhibitions of dancing and pantomime on their stages. The natives on this occasion kept open house for all foreign residents. The festival was kept up for three full days.

July 20th. To-day there was a great depreciation in the value of the dollar. This was because the Yedo Mint had ceased to buy dollars. In the morning the quotation was 290 *bu* for $100; in the evening it had fallen to 235.

The first Land Regulations issued by foreign Consuls at Kanagawa are as follow:—

I.—Mode of Acquiring Land.

Any person desiring to lease land within the location fixed upon for Foreign Renters must first apply to the Consul or Consular Agent of his nation officially and in writing, or if there be none appointed, to the Consul of any friendly power, specifying as nearly as can be ascertained the locality and boundaries of the said land, and the said Consul or Consular Agent will thereupon enquire of the Land Officer

and the other foreign Consuls whether any impediment exists to its settlement by reason of previous negotiations or application by third parties, or otherwise, provided always that if such impediment do exist, then and in such case a reasonable time shall be allowed the first claimant to settle for the said Land; and the failing to do so within such reasonable time shall be considered and held a virtual surrender of such prior right of Settlement, and the same shall revert to the foreigner next applying, on notice to that effect being given to his Consul, and no good cause shown why it should not revert as aforesaid.

II.—Only Bonâ-fide Residents eligible to rent Land.

Allotments of land will be made only to bonâ-fide residents, and renters of land will be required, under penalty of forfeiture of Title-deed, to erect within six months after date of Title-deed and in accordance with these Regulations, buildings of a value of not less than :—

On water lots .....$150 for each 100 *tsubo* measurement.
,, rear lots ..... 50 ,, ,, 100 ,, ,,

III.—Final Settlement and Title-deeds.

The priority of the individual claimant having been determined as aforesaid, a note under the hand and seal of the Consul will be furnished him for delivery to the Land Officer who will without delay proceed with him to measure the land in question.

The measurement having been ascertained, the money for one year's rental will be immediately paid to the Chief Land Officer, who will give a receipt in triplicate, with translation of the same, stating also the measurement and boundaries of the said land. Two copies of the said receipt will be handed by the Renters to his Consul, who will transmit one copy to the Governor. The Governor will forthwith issue Title-deeds in Triplicate *in the form agreed upon and hereunto annexed*, one copy to be archived by the Governor, one by the Consul, and one copy to be delivered to the Renter.

The Governor will also notify the other Consuls of the issue of such Title-deeds, specifying the measurement and boundaries of the land.

IV.—Boundary stones to be placed.

When land is rented a time will be appointed, and stones having the number of the Lot distinctly cut thereon, to define the boundaries,

will be fixed in the presence of an officer deputed by the Consul, of the Land Officer, or his deputy, and of the Renter, in such manner that they may not interfere with the lines of road or the boundaries, or in any other way give cause for litigation or dispute hereafter.

V.—Streets, Roads, Sewers and Jetties.

It is clearly understood and agreed to, that land devoted to public use, as streets, roads, etc. is not included in the measurement of rented Lots, and is not to be infringed on in any way.

In the acquirement of new Lots of land, provision shall be made for the requisite extension or creation of Streets, Roads and Jetties.

The proprietorship of the soil being in the Japanese Government, the Streets, Roads, and Jetties will be at all times kept in thorough order, and Sewers or drains will be made when necessary by the Japanese Government, and no tax will be levied on Renters in the Foreign quarter for this purpose.

VI.—Rent when Payable.

The annual Rent payable to the Japanese Government on the land rented within the Foreign Quarters will be payable in advance on the————day of the————month of each year.

The Governor will address the several Consuls ten days previous to the said date, stating when, where, and to whom the said rent must be paid, and the said Consuls will give notice to the Renters. The officer appointed to receive the Rent will give a receipt in triplicate, with translation for the same, one copy of which shall be archived by the Governor, one copy by the Consul, and one be delivered to the Renter.

Should a Renter neglect to pay the Rent on the day fixed, the Governor will acquaint the Consul under whose jurisdiction the defaulter is, who will enforce immediate payment.

VII.—Transfer of Lots.

The interest in a Lot shall always be held in Law and Equity to reside in that person in whose name the Title of Record appears, and no Title shall pass unless the Deed is lodged for Record within three days from the date of the conveyance;—but no lot can be transfered within one year after the date of Title-deed.

Within the said Foreign Quarter no Japanese shall erect new houses or sheds so near the residence or places of business of For-

eigners as to endanger them in case of Fire, and if he does, the Governor will abate the nuisance.

No Japanese shall open a place of public entertainment within said Location without the unanimous consent of the Consular Authorities, under the penalties hereinafter provided against maintaining nuisances.

VIII.—Extent of lot and usage to which applied.

Straw sheds, Bamboo or Wooden houses, or buildings of inflammable kinds shall not be erected in the Settlement, nor shall any trade or profession be carried on within its limits, dangerous to the safety of life or property, or obnoxious to the general health, under a penalty of $25 for every twenty-four hours such nuisance shall remain unabated.

Nor shall contraband goods or merchandize likely to endanger life or property,—such us gunpowder, sulphur, saltpetre, large quantities of spirits, and such like, be stored in the premises of any individual under a penalty of $25, and $25 for each twenty-four hours the nuisance shall remain. The place where such trades or professions may be carried on, or where such merchandize may be stored must be sufficiently distinct from other dwellings or warehouses to prevent all risk of damage or inconvenience, and be fixed upon by the authorities after consultation together.

The public road must not be encroached upon or obstructed, by scaffolding for the purpose of building, or by building materials of any kind, beyond the time essential for the completion of the work. No one shall encroach upon the road or shall at any time block it up by heaping up goods and such like, for any length of time, under a penalty of $10 for each twenty-four hours they remain after a notification by the Japanese or Consular authorities to remove them.

The public or individuals must not be inconvenienced by the accumulation of filth in gutters or upon the roads; by the firing of guns, carelessly creating noise or disturbance, riding or driving, or leading horses up and down the chief thoroughfares for exercise or by any act coming legitimately within the meaning of the term *nuisance*, under a penalty of $10, on commission of either of said offences. All fines shall be recovered before the Consul of the nation to which the offending party belongs, or if there be none in the port *then they may be recovered before the Japanese authorities*, and shall be paid

over to the Committee appointed under clause IX. of these Regulations to be used for the purposes therein stated, and for which said Committee is appointed.

IX.—Street Lamps and Police.

It being expedient and necessary that some provision should be made for the lighting and cleaning of streets and for a watch or Police Force, the Foreign Consul aforesaid shall at the beginning of each year convene a meeting of the Renters of Land within the said Foreign quarters to devise means of raising the requisite funds for these purposes; and at such meeting it shall be competent to the said Renters to declare assessment in the form of a Rate to be made on the said Land or Buildings, and in the form of wharfage dues on all goods landed at any place within the said Quarter; and to appoint a Committee of three or more persons to levy the said Rates and Dues, and apply the fund so realized to the purposes aforesaid, or in such manner as may be agreed and determined upon by all at the said meeting; and to that end the said Committee shall be empowered to sue all defaulters in the Consular Courts under whose jurisdiction these may be; and in case the said defaulters have no Consular Representative at this Port, then the Governor of Yokohama shall upon application of the Committee through the foreign Consuls, recover from such Defaulters the amounts due from them for Land assessment or wharfage-dues, and pay the same to the said Committee.

Moreover, at such yearly meeting the accounts of the Committee for the past year shall be laid before the assembled Renters for their approval and sanction.

It shall be competent for the Foreign Consuls collectively or singly, when it may appear to them needful, or at the requisition of the Renters of Land to call a public meeting at any time, giving ten days' notice of the same, setting forth the business upon which it is convened, for the consideration of any matter or thing connected with the land; provided always such requisition shall be signed by not less than five of the said Renters, and that it set forth satisfactory grounds for such request.

The Resolutions passed by a majority at any such public meetings on all such matters aforesaid shall be valid and binding upon the whole of the Renters of Land, within the said limits, if not less than one-third of them are present.

The Senior Consul present at any such meeting shall take the chair, and in the absence of a Consul, then such Renter as the majority of voters present may nominate.

If Renters of Land in Public meeting assembled, as herein provided, decide upon any matters of a municipal nature not already enumerated, and affecting the general interest, such decision shall first be reported by the Chairman to the Consuls for their joint concurrence and approval, without which approval officially given, such resolution cannot become valid and binding upon the Renters as a body.

X.—Sale of Spirits or Liquors; Opening of Public Houses, &c.

No Foreigner or Japanese shall sell spirits or liquors, or open a house of entertainment within the Foreign Quarter without a License to do so from the said Consuls, or the Majority of them, and if a Japanese, also from the Governor, and upon good and sufficient security given for the maintenance of order in their establishment.

XI.—Breach of Regulations.

Should one of the Consuls at any time discover a Breach of the Regulations or should information thereof be lodged with him, or should local authorities address him thereon, he shall in every case within his jurisdiction summon the offender before him, and if convicted, punish him summarily.

Should any Foreigner who has no Consular authority at this port commit a breach of the Regulations, then and in such case the Japanese chief authority may be appealed to by any one or more of the Consuls to uphold the Regulations in their integrity and punish the party so infringing them.

XII.—Provisional Clause.

Hereafter should any correction be requisite in these Regulations, or should it be necessary to determine on further Regulations, or should doubt arise as to the construction of, or powers conferred thereby, the same must be consulted upon and settled by the Consuls and Governor in communication together, who shall equitably decide thereon, the Consul submitting the same for confirmation to the Representative of their respective countries of Japan.

The Consuls referred to in these Regulations are Consuls, (or persons duly acting as such,) of powers having Treaties with Japan.

(Signed.) F. Howard Vyse,
H. B. M. Acting Consul.

(„) E. M. Dorr,
U. S. Consul.

(„) D. De Graaff van Polsbroek,
H. N. M.'s Vice-Consul.

A true Copy,
Phillip Buchanan Walsh,
Acting Junior Assistant.

Kanagawa, Japan, August, 1860.

October 25th. The U. S. ship *Hartford* arrived from China with Commodore Stribling. Dr. Bates and myself called on the Commodore and officers and the Commodore returned the call. He and his officers were the most pleasant and polite people I ever met.

October 31st. Our Consul gave a Ball in honour of the Commodore and the officers of the *Hartford.* All Americans were invited. This was the first Ball ever given in Kanagawa. Very few ladies were present; only two Englishwomen and three or four female American missionaries. The function was a great success.

November 1st. The *Hartford* was to proceed to Yedo, and many of the American residents were invited by the Captain and officers to visit the city, and many of those engaged in business

left their business to look after itself and accepted the invitation.

We arrived at Shinagawa and went ashore, and Mr. Hall and myself called on our Minister, Harris, and paid our respects to him. He received us civilly enough, yet it was not difficult to see that he was by no means over-pleased with our visit. For we were only *common citizens*. We then went and called on the Secretary and the Interpreter, and from them we obtained horses and guards to ride out to see the city.

Some days afterwards Hall and myself called on the British Minister and his staff at their Legation, and afterwards we went to see our old friend the Abbé Girard. He was now attached to the French Legation, living in a house of his own, in a nice quiet spot near the Legation Compound. He had been in the Loochoo Islands for several years, during which he had acquired the Loochooan language. When Japan was thrown open to foreign trade he came up to Yokohama and there built the first Catholic Church in the town on the spot where it now stands.

When we called he said that he was very pleased to see us, and on our remarking that we had very little time to see the sights of the city as the *Hartford* had to leave next day he invited us to stay with him. Hall and myself accepted this

kind invitation with alacrity; and promising to be back that evening we sallied out sightseeing. We had tiffin in a restaurant over in Fukagawa. It consisted of fish cooked and raw, fowls, eggs, boiled rice, vegetables and fruit. I asked for the bill and the landlord brought it. The total was 2¾ *bu*, or less than a dollar. This included tiffin for Hall and myself, for two officers (our guards) and four grooms, and feed for four horses. I asked the proprietor whether that was all, and whether he had not made a mistake. He said that that was all and that no mistake had been made. I paid the bill and gave half-a-*bu* as *chadai*. The landlord thanked me profusely and the whole household escorted us to the door to say *sayonara* to us. This is the cheapest dinner I ever ate, before or since.

That night our portmanteaus came ashore from the *Hartford* and we took up our quarters at the Abbé's. Next day after breakfast he kindly furnished us with horses and guards and we set out for Ju-ni-so. We arrived there, had tiffin and started for home again. On our return journey we met the British Minister and his staff riding towards the U.S. Legation. They returned our salutation, and passed on and we got back just in time for dinner.

After dinner we were enjoying a smoke when some native officers were announced, wishing to

see the Abbé. He excused himself and went to meet them in another room. In half-an-hour he came back and told us that these men had been sent by the U. S. Minister to inquire why and wherefore we were in Yedo seeing that the *Hartford* had left. The Abbé had replied that we wished to see the sights of Yedo, and that as the *Hartford* had gone so soon, he had invited us as citizens of a friendly nation to stay with him as there was no hotel for us to put up at.

"And," had wound up the Abbé, "when you return to the American Minister please tell him with my compliments that if in future he should find in Yedo any of my countrymen situated similarly to these gentlemen, I shall feel much obliged if he will invite them to his Legation, and hope and trust that he will have the goodness to do so."

Upon this the officials took their departure, and nothing more was heard from the jealous Minister. Mr. Harris seldom if ever went out, so we inferred that he knew of our being in the city from the English Minister whom we had met on our way back from Ju-ni-so, and that he had immediately sent these officers to annoy our host and ourselves. Upon this Hall and myself consulted and decided to return to Yokohama at once rather than occasion any unpleasantness between the Abbé and the U. S. Minister by our further stay. So next morning we

asked our host for horses and guards to start for the Treaty-Port, when he said that he had some business and that he would come with us. So we started all three together and in due time arrived at Yokohama.

November 9th. To-day the U. S. frigate *Niagara* steamed up the bay and anchored in Yokohama harbour. On board of her were the ambassadors who had left in February on the *Powhatan*. I went off to congratulate them on their safe return. They told me that they had been treated everywhere in America with the utmost kindness and courtesy and that they had been much pleased with their visit to the States. The Chief Ambassadors, Shimmi and Murakami, asked me to thank the Captain and officers of the *Niagara* for the kindness and attention they had received at their hands since they came on board, and also to write in their names to some people in the U. S. In the afternoon the *Niagara* steamed up with the ambassadors and suite to Shinagawa and landed them there.

In the course of this month the Moss shooting affair took place at Kanagawa. In the trial which ensued, I was requested by Capt. Vyse, the British Consul, to attend and watch the case. My duty was to see that no undue influence should be exerted by the native authorities on the Japanese wit-

nesses. I attended on two successive days, and had no occasion to interfere.

December 5th, 1860. To-day the British Consul issued the following notification to his countrymen. It came round to our house, and our clerk copied it. It ran as follows.

NOTIFICATION No. 15.

British Consulate,
Kanagawa, Dec. 5th, 1861.

The deplorable collision in which an officer of the Taikun has been dangerously wounded and is likely to lose his life, renders it imperative on the undersigned, H. B. M.'s Acting Consul, to take measures to prevent the repetition of such untoward occurrences. British subjects have already been informed by public notification that the pursuit of game by fire-arms is prohibited by Japanese Law within the limit of this port, but it now seems further necessary to advise them that, residence in a foreign country carries with it by the common polity of nations, the obligation to obey its laws. This obligation holds good in Japan, no less than in other countries, in all cases where exemption has not been especially stipulated by treaty in the form of specific rights and privileges. The right to disregard any Japanese laws not specially suspended is not a privilege conceded by the Treaty of Great Britain with Japan. Certain Treaty rights exist by express stipulation, and all that legitimately follows, as necessary to the full enjoyment of these, is secured, but nothing beyond. The manifest law of Japan is in all respects as binding upon foreigners as on Japanese. It behoves British subjects to understand distinctly therefore, that they are not only responsible for the infraction of Japanese laws when they have not been suspended in their favor by Treaty stipulations, but according to the laws of Great Britain for all consequences which may result from the commission of an unlawful act.—So far does the law go, that if one intending to commit a felony undesignedly kill a man, it is murder. Whenever a person does an act lawful in itself but in an unlawful manner, or without due caution and circumspection, and a life is lost, it must be

either manslaughter or murder, according to the circumstances. Any person therefore going out shooting, and specially after the warning given by Notification No. 15 of 1859, does deliberately violate a Japanese law, and acting at the same time in defence of an understood prohibition from the British authorities whose jurisdiction he must acknowledge, commits a misdemeanour, and if he resists a Japanese officer, who, in performance of his duty seeks to arrest him for this or any other offence against Japanese laws, he is equally guilty of a crime and aggravated offence. The undersigned therefore calls upon British subjects within his jurisdiction carefully to abstain from all wilful violation of the Japanese laws, weighing well the consequence, and at the present moment, more especially reference is made to shooting and the pursuit of game. There are certain restrictions and prohibitions to this sport in most countries, and many very stringent ones—in some cases a foreigner, or any one indeed, must not shoot over another man's land, if he does not choose it, or without his leave. The hardship of the case is therefore by no means so great, nor so singular, as has been alleged, even had residents in Japan no more serious and legitimate objects to pursue; but were it ten times more so, while such is the law, they must abide by it.

The undersigned is further called upon to remark upon the common practice of carrying fire-arms during the day and in the most ostentatious manner. There is no apparent danger to justify this practice, while on the other hand it is itself a source of danger, provoking hostile feelings and distrust among the natives, and placing within reach of many, whose non-command of temper under provocation, or whose discretion under other circumstances cannot be trusted, such dangerous weapons as revolvers. There is something especially provocative and irritating in such ostentatious display of fire-arms, for men supposed to be following the avocations of merchants which are or ought to be entirely peaceable.

Nor is the danger one which affects only the person carrying the weapon, but it may at any moment involve a whole community in peril. Considering these circumstances therefore and regarding such carrying of fire-arms between sunrise and sunset as a provocation to a breach of the peace and a common source of danger to the community, British subjects are hereby prohibited from so offending

under penalty of fine and imprisonment. It has further come to the knowledge of the Japanese Government that furious riding in the streets of Yokohama is a common practice among foreigners, and not only among them but among their Chinese servants, by whom the lives of Japanese subjects are daily endangered, and one only recently sacrificed. The undersigned is deeply concerned to find himself under the necessity of pointing out for reprobation acts prohibited and declared punishable by law in every civilized country. He can only trust no British subjects will be brought before him on such a charge, and that every one will take earnest and effective steps to prevent servants thus bringing their masters into odium and disrepute. The very circumstances of these servants riding at all, is a violation of the custom of the country, and one which no doubt outrages the feelings and the customs of the people.

The undersigned can see no adequate justification for this, and is certain it would be much better avoided to the interests of their employers and of the whole community of foreigners residing at this port.

(Signed.) F. Howard Vyse,
H. B. M.'s Consul, Kanagawa.

December 22nd. This morning we received news from Yedo to the effect that one of the late Governors of Kanagawa—the Governor for Foreign Affairs—Hori Oribe-no-Sho had committed *harakiri* in his sedan-chair on his way home from the Castle. It seems that about this time some foreigners were buying up large quantities of flour and exporting it to China, owing to which the price of wheat and flour had been considerably enhanced. This caused discontent and clamour among the vermicelli and maccaroni dealers in Yedo. So the *Gorōjiu*, Andō Tsushima no Kami, thought fit to put a stop to the export of flour, by prohibiting the

natives from selling it. Against this Hori protested, arguing that the Treaty said nothing about any prohibition of the export of flour, although it was perfectly explicit about wheat, rice and barley. This assertion on the part of Hori gave offence to Andō. He did not say anything to Hori or attempt to argue the point with him, but he quietly got up and left the audience chamber. Hori immediately got up also, seeing that his words had been displeasing to the *Gorōjiu*. And on his way home he committed suicide.

It is further rumoured that immediately after Hori had left the Castle the Shōgun learned what had just transpired. He knew that Hori was a straight-forward, high-spirited man, and he knew furthermore what was as likely as not to happen under the circumstances. So fearing lest Hori should commit some rash act, he immediately sent a dispatch pardoning him for arguing against the order of his superior. The messenger with this despatch arrived at Hori's residence just as Hori's train was approaching the gate. The door of the *Norimono* was the opened by attendants and the messenger was just about to deliver the dispatch when they discovered that Governor Hori had thrust his dirk into his belly and had disembowelled himself. He lived just long enough to hear the Shōgun's dispatch read, and then he

bowed his head and died with a smile upon his face.

In consequence of this deed of Governor Hori, his son was immediately appointed Governor of Kanagawa by the Shōgun. This fact was notified to the Foreign Consuls about two weeks after his father's death.

December 29th. It is reported that some of the *rōnin* (outlaws) of Mito are meditating an attack upon the Government Office in Kadzusa, and that in consequence of this the Foreign Consuls have been requested by the authorities of Kanagawa to temporarily withdraw their Consulates to the Yokohama side. Upon this the Consuls held a meeting to discuss the request. They came to the conclusion that the Shōgun's Government were merely trying to frighten the Consuls to withdraw to Yokohama, or in other words, to place them with the other foreigners in one spot in order to establish a second Deshima on the Bay of Yedo. So the Consuls jointly declined to accede to the request.

January 1st, 1861. It was reported that three *rōnins* had been arrested at Yedo, and one at the entrance gate to Yokohama, while trying to steal into the town. They were all Mito men. This rumour created great excitement among the foreign residents in the Treaty-Port.

January 16th. In the morning a dispatch was received at the U. S. Consulate at Kanagawa from the U. S. Legation at Yedo, stating that on the previous night Mr. Heusken, the Interpreter of the Legation, had been assassinated at Akabane by some persons unknown. He was riding home from the Prussian Legation whither he had gone to aid in negotiating the Prussian Treaty with the Japanese Government. This created tremendous excitement in both Yedo and Yokohama.

January 20th. It is reported that owing to the above occurrence, the English, French and Dutch Ministers held a meeting in Yedo, in order to concert precautionary measures for their personal safety. The American Minister was invited by the others but did not attend. Subsequently the following notices were circulated among the foreign residents of Yokohama, and my clerk copied them. They are as follows:—

H. M.'s Ship *Encounter*, Bay of Yedo,

January 25th, 1861.

Sir,—I enclose for your information and guidance a copy of an official communication I have addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Yedo, in which the Japanese Government is informed of my resolution to withdraw from the capital temporarily, and made acquainted with my reasons for this step. This resolution has been taken in concert with my colleagues, the Representatives of France and the Netherlands, between whom and myself there is the most perfect accord, as the best means of averting eventualities calculated to interrupt all friendly relations. I must in common with them hope that

it may yet be possible to put an end to a system of intimidation, enforced by frequent assassinations which must otherwise inevitably lead to great calamities and more serious complications than those which already exist in consequence of the long persistence in so fatal a course.

In furtherance of this object it is my purpose to take up my residence at Kanagawa or Yokohama, and there await communication with the Japanese Government on the spot from which any danger of violence will then be removed, and when all British subjects in this port of Japan are collected, I shall be enabled to take more effective steps for their security with the assistance of H.B.M.'s ships.

My relations with the Japanese Government will not be interrupted nor trade interfered with while negotiations are pending for the more effective maintenance of treaty rights than has hitherto been found possible. In this way I trust much good may be ultimately effected with the least chance of injury to existing interests and you will in nothing alter your demeanour or usual course of action at the post under your jurisdiction. The object of this movement on my part (and I may say on that of my colleagues), you will explain to the Governor of Kanagawa, is not to create a rupture, but if possible to arrest any such calamity, and by every available means, while relieving the Government of Japan from a great danger, to induce them without further delay to take what steps may be necessary to place their relations on a better and safer footing, and above all to give that security to life and property which has been greatly in default from the beginning and latterly wholly wanting.

You are at liberty to make known the contents of this dispatch and its enclosure for the benefit and information of British subjects at your port.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) R. A——.

Minister, &c., &c.

(To British Consul.)

The enclosure the Minister referred to in the above was addressed to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Yedo, and is as follows :—

H. M.'s Legation, Yedo,

January 26th, 1861.

A long series of assassinations both here and at Yokohama, in which foreigners have been the victims, preclude the possibility of the lately renewed menace of a general massacre being regarded as a mere idle demonstration of ill-will.

The recent murder of Mr. Heusken, and the shameful conduct of the *Yakunins* expressly appointed by the Japanese Government to accompany him for his defence argue alike the reality of the danger and the utter inadequacy of the means of protection.

When to those circumstances must be added the grave fact, that of all the numerous cases of assassination and murderous assaults committed on foreigners during the last eighteen months, the offenders in no one instance have been seized or justice done, it is evident to demonstration that no reliance can be placed on the measures hitherto taken by the Government to secure either the prevention of similar crimes in the future or the punishment of the guilty.

The past is over and nothing the Japanese Government can do now will bring back the dead to life, or repair the wrong done, but it is otherwise in regard to the future and the *assured immunity of crime* is fatal to our security,—it is equivalent to a Royal License to kill and slay, under which all who are capable of murder (and according to Japanese authority the number is large) may attack and kill foreigners whenever they find them without fear or hesitation, so perfectly are they assured of escape without danger from the law.

This is in fact to outlaw every foreigner and to place the Representatives of Foreign States, no less than the rest, at the mercy of whoever may find pleasure or advantage in killing them. Under such a regime, life is only held at the will and pleasure of every ruffian in the Empire.

This may well seem too monstrous and too opprobrious to be possible in the least civilized of states, yet I have only stated in plain terms the exact truth susceptible of proof by facts which admit of no

question, facts of weekly and monthly occurrence in the actual state of affairs.

I need not ask the Japanese Government if this is a position which they think fitting for the Diplomatic Agents of the Great Western Powers in treaty with Japan. I will not do them the injury to assume for a moment that they can consider it possible for the Representatives to accept such a position. I feel sure on the contrary, that not only your Excellencies, but the Government of Japan, and I could hope the great body of the *Daimios* and governing classes in the country, regard such acts of murder and efforts to place the Ministers of Foreign Powers under a regime of intimidation, with shame and indignation. But granting this as I willingly do, whence then comes this perfect impunity to criminals guilty of those acts; this continuance in the same odious and disgraceful policy? It is for the Government to answer; for they are responsible by the Law of Nations. In the eyes of all the world they are responsible for the maintenance of order, and that respect for the laws which protect life and property. If they fail in these, they cease to preserve the essential character of a Government and lose their title to the respect of Foreign Powers, who can only treat with those who govern *de facto*, and not merely in name. This is indeed the very condition of their permanence as a Government, and they cannot forget it without imminent peril. The Government of Japan therefore is menaced in its own existence by such a state of misrule, and in their own interest I must urge their actual situation upon their most serious attention. It is or should be unnecessary to recapitulate here the leading facts which during the eighteen months past, ever since indeed the ports were opened by treaty, have in continual sequence tended to the same end, namely to render the position of Foreign Representative intolerable and untenable by continual menaces, restrictions to his free intercourse, and encroachments on his independence, by assaults unrepaired and unpunished, and finally by insecurity of life. And a like series of events has marked our relations at the ports, exposing the Foreign residents to similar grievances, with a systematic disregard of all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by Treaty,—Official interference in the free sale and purchase of produce, obstructions, restrictions, exactions, —in a word all the machinery that the authorities and subordinate officials with absolute power of control over Japanese subjects could devise for their own profit and the injury of Foreigners. The assassination

of Mr. Heusken, following close upon menaces of a general massacre communicated to the Foreign Ministers by your Excellencies, followed up again by the intimidation from the same quarter on the morning of the funeral, when the Representatives of Foreign Powers were all assembled to render the last honours to the murdered that they themselves were in danger of being attacked on the way to the cemetery if they ventured to proceed, was more than sufficient to remove that last trace of doubt or hesitation in my mind, and I think in the minds of most of my colleagues, as to the necessity of instant and decisive action on our part. But lest this should not have been enough, it seemed as if it had been determined to furnish one more conclusive evidence how little the Government could be relied on for our defence and protection, by leaving the whole line of road, more than a mile in length, open to attack. There were no guards on the ground, or extraordinary means of caution and protection I do not say to *resist* an attack it had sent warning was to be feared, but to prevent the possibility of the most desperate murderer to attempt it. Here were the lives of all Foreign Ministers in Yedo, together with the whole of their respective Legations, and the Consuls from Kanagawa declared by the Government to be in immediate danger,—they were all at one spot assembled, and it was not deemed worth while apparently to adopt a single measure for their defence and protection. This act was conclusive,—that the Government should allow a member of one of the Legations, to be murdered while the whole corps diplomatic was under menace of a similar fate, and yet consider it unnecessary even in the cemetery to make any communication to Her Majesty's Minister at this Court, whose own safety and that of his Legation were in question could no longer be a subject of surprise. The courses were perfectly consistent with each other. Moved by those considerations, and perfectly convinced by all the experience of the past of the utter hopelessness of any further efforts by mere remonstrance on the spot to effect the change which it was too plain could not be deferred without risk of the greatest complications, and it might be a real calamity, if unfortunately further lives should be lost, I took immediate steps, after the funeral to communicate with my colleagues, and announced my resolution to avert, if possible, the danger I foresaw in the continued supineness of the Government. I determined with this view to withdraw temporarily from the Legation at Yedo, and I now write to acquaint you that I have carried this resolution into effect and that I

shall take up my residence for the present at Kanagawa or Yokohama, where I can not only command measures of protection, if required, from H.M.'s ships, but also take such steps as may be needful for the security of my countrymen.

There, I shall wait with calmness the result of further communication with the Government of the Tycoon, free for the first time for eighteen months, if not from the menaces of assassination, at least from any anxiety of such threats being immediately carried into execution, to the peril and disgrace of Japan.

I trust your Excellencies and the Council of State, to whom I pray you to communicate this dispatch, will see in this decision an earnest desire to avoid to the utmost, and as long as possible, a cause of rupture or more serious complications, but also a firm resolution to insist upon such total changes in the policy hitherto pursued towards British subjects in common with all other foreigners as shall give that security to life and property, and full enjoyment of Treaty-rights, which they are entitled to demand. My long continued personal relations with your Excellencies, and their uniformly friendly character, lead me to hope that sharing in the regret I feel for this untoward impediment to a good understanding you will see the necessity of similar decisive action with your colleagues in the Government, that this standing reproach may be removed. The faction of violent and unscrupulous advocates for a system of terrorism and assassination, whom I must suppose to be the real authors of such troubles *must* be controlled, whatever be the rank or number of these concerned, or nothing but grievous consequences, from which Japan will be the first and greatest sufferer, can follow, in spite of the sacrifice and efforts I am now making to prevent such a catastrophe. The Government in a word must show that it has the will and ability to impose respect upon all the disaffected spirits who would seek for their own ends, to disturb the good relations hitherto existing between the Treaty powers and Japan, and which on the part of Great Britain the Government of Her Majesty is most anxious to maintain for the mutual advantage of both countries. They must no longer be permitted to take life with assured impunity, and follow out a system of intimidation in the vain hope of driving foreigners out of the country by murder and terrorism. Europe united would resist the attempt and render its success *impossible* and punish the authors of such an outrage on the law and right of nations. Could they even temporarily effect their

object and murder every foreigner, Japan would be the most grievous sufferer.

Even were such a flagitious policy ever to be carried out, the whole country would fall under the law of civilized nations, and be dealt with as a common enemy. I trust for the interest of humanity such deplorable contingencies may be rendered impossible, and that both the Government and the people of Japan will be convinced that their policy is faithfully to fulfil their engagements and to maintain friendly relations with a Power which has at its diposal ample means for obtaining, in case of need, redress for injuries done to its subjects. I have only in conclusion to urge upon the Government, the importance of putting a speedy end to the present exceptional state of affairs.

I am anxious for a peaceable and satisfactory termination, and ready to return to the Legation and resume my duties at Yedo whenever I can see such material guarantee for redress in respect to past grievances and security for the future as may warrant this step I have in the meantime left all my property undisturbed in charge of the officers in my house, for the safety of which the Government will of course be responsible.

Whether my return will be prompt or tardy therefore depends entirely upon the Japanese Government. Sooner or later it is certain that the Representative of Great Britain will return to Yedo, the place of residence assigned by Treaty; but if speedily there will be less time for new complications to arise, and affairs may be more easily arranged with mutual benefit and on a better footing than hitherto, to my regret, has been found possible, if no time be lost.

With respect and consideration,

(Signed.) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK,
H. B. M.'s Minister, &c., &c.

February 15th. Owing to the sad death of Mr. Heuskens, the Interpreter to the U. S. Legation, some correspondence was said to have taken place between the English and the American Ministers to the Court of Yedo. The letter addressed by the U. S. Minister to the British Representative

was sent down and circulated among the American residents both at Kanagawa and Yokohama for their information. It ran as following:—

Legation of the U. S. in Japan,

Yedo, February 12th, 1861.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated the 22nd ultimo; transmitting a *compte-rendu* of the conferences held on the 19th and 21st January at H. B. M.'s Legation in this city by the Representatives of the Foreign Powers then here.

The *compte-rendu* correctly states that the American Minister was not present at the conference of the 21st January, but fails to state that he was not invited to assist at that meeting.

You request me to sign a protocol to the effect that the *compte-rendu* is a correct record of the conferences above referred to. You must be aware that it is not in my power to certify to the correctness of the report of the conference held on the 21st January, as the only knowledge I have of that conference is derived from the *compte-rendu* itself. The conclusion at which you and my other colleagues arrived may be stated as follows.—That no confidence can be placed in the good faith of the Japanese Government, that the members of the different Legations are exposed to assassination by remaining in this city, and that for the double purpose of securing personal safety, and to produce a sensible effect on this Government, it is advisable that the Legations should retire to Yokohama. It is my misfortune to be of a different opinion, and I shall briefly state my reasons for that difference.

The Japanese Government has constantly warned the diplomatic Representatives of existing danger, from the first day of their arrival in this city, and shown its anxiety to secure their protection.

It was only desired that foreigners should use the same means of protection which the Japanese use universally among themselves. It is well known that those of a rank corresponding to Foreign Ministers have their houses surrounded by a large number of guards, and that they never go out without being accompanied by a numerous train of armed attendants. Is it just therefore to require the Japanese to protect us with other appliances than those used for

their own security? If the Japanese were acting in bad faith, if they really desired the assassination of the Foreign Ministers, a simple expression of such a wish could be sufficient and the work could be done in a single hour. We have lived in Yedo about nineteen months in safety, and this fact is proof of the desire and ability of the Government to give us protection. The murder of Mr. Heuskens, the able and faithful Interpreter of this Legation which all lament and I deplore, was owing to the disregard of the repeated warnings of the Japanese Government against his constant exposure of himself at night, and his death was the consummation of the fears I have felt ever since my arrival at Yedo.

In judging of the acts of this Government, it is important that the political antecedents be taken into consideration. For more than two centuries this country has been hermetically closed against foreigners; this barrier so rigidly maintained is suddenly removed, and the country opened to foreign intercourse.

It is well known that a large party of men of high rank are opposed to the new order of things initiated by the treaty, and that in this city that opposition is concentrated and in its greatest intensity. The manifestations of ill-will are principally confined to the followers of the *Daimios*, and present a reflex of the opinions of their chiefs. It is unquestionable in my mind that the enormous enhancement of the prices of articles of general consumption, consequent upon the admission of foreign commerce has intensified their feelings of opposition. A Government may make treaties and observe their stipulations but it is beyond the power of any Government to control public opinion. It strikes me that the arguments at the conference referred to are based upon the assumption that the Japanese Government represented a civilization on a par with that of the Western world. This is a grave error,—the Japanese are not a civilized but a semi-civilized people, and the condition of affairs in this country is quite analogous to that of the (Western world) Europe during the middle ages.

To demand therefore of the Japanese Government the same observances, the same prompt administration of justice as is found in civilized lands, is simply to demand an impossibility, and to hold that Government responsible for the isolated acts of private individuals, I believe to be wholly unsustained by international law. This principle is not acted on in the Western world. Not long ago, a London

jury exultingly acquitted a conspirator against the Emperor of the French. I did not learn that the French Legation retired to Dover in consequence of the failure of justice. Again in one of the greatest thoroughfares of Naples, the French Minister was savagely assaulted at midday, and although hundreds of people witnessed the assault, the would-be assassins effected their escape and to this day have not been arrested. Did the French Legation retire from Naples in consequence of the failure to arrest the criminal?

In March last the Regent of Japan was assassinated. Only part of the murderers have thus far been arrested, and of those not one has been punished yet. This delay in inflicting punishment on the assassins of one so exalted in rank as the Regent shows that the Japanese mode of procedure is different from that of the Western World.

I desire to put upon record my firm belief that so long as I observe the precautions recommended by the Japanese Government and used by the Japanese themselves, my residence in this city is a perfectly safe one. To retire to Yokohama with the intention of producing an effect upon the Japanese Government will I think, prove a mistake. There was not one article in the American Treaty more difficult to obtain than the one securing residence in Yedo of the Diplomatic Representative of the U. S. The commissioners on that occasion warned me of the grave difficulties which a residence of a Foreign Minister was sure to create in Yedo, and they were very solicitous that I should accept a permanent residence in Kanagawa or Kawasaki with the right to come to Yedo whenever my duty required.

This retirement of the Foreign Legations to Yokohama is exactly what the Government desires, as it relieves them from great anxiety, responsibility and expense, and they allege that the Legations can be more conveniently protected at Yokohama than in Yedo. Instead therefore of the retirement giving offense to the Japanese Government, it will be held by them as a very desirable result, and I apprehend that a residence there will lead the Japanese mind to confound the Foreign Representatives with the Foreign traders, an effect which cannot fail to injure both their prestige and influence.

For the reasons thus briefly set forth I deprecate the action of my colleagues, believing as I do that without producing any beneficial effect it is an important step towards a war with this country. The people of this country (Japan) cannot be raised to our standard of civilization by the stroke of a diplomatic pen nor even if they have fifty

thousand soldiers for their school-master. It is only time, patience and forebearance, that can produce this desirable result. I had hoped that the page of future history might record the great fact that in one spot in the Eastern world, the advent of Christian civilization did not bring with it its usual attendants of rapine and bloodshed. This fond hope I fear is to be disappointed. I could sooner see all the Treaties with this country torn up, and Japan turn to its old state of isolation than witness the horrors of war inflicted on this peaceful people and happy land.

Permit me to request you to transmit a copy of this note to your Government to be annexed to the *compte-rendu* of the conferences held on the 19th and 21st January. I have the honor to be Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

TOWNSEND HOWIS,

U. S. Minister Resident.

To RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, Esq.,

H. B. M.'s Envoy Extraordinary,

Minister Plenipotentiary, &c., &c.

March 1st, 1861. We had been carrying on business for about a year, but the results had not been brilliant and the future prospects were not very promising. So my partner and I agreed to dissolve the partnership, he to start on his own account, and I on mine. No sooner had we separated than business began to crowd in upon me and in a short time I found I had more than I could overtake. Shortly after my old friend, Thomas Troy, turned up in Yokohama, and I was delighted to employ him as my clerk.

July 5th, 1861. We received intelligence that the British Legation had been attacked by the Mito *rōnin* and that several persons had been wounded.

The attack was made soon after the Minister's return overland from Nagasaki and his ascent of Fuji-yama.

September 16th. For the past six or eight months I had been frequently warned by the native authorities of Kanagawa and Yokohama to be careful of myself. They cautioned me not to ride out on the Tōkaidō, or to any place at all distant from the Foreign Settlement, inasmuch as it was a well-ascertained fact that several *rōnin* deemed me worthy of their attention, and were on the outlook for me to cut me down. There warnings had of late waxed far too frequent for my comfort. At the same time I had some idea of making a visit to America, partly in order to take some presents to my friends who had been so kind to me during my sojourn in that country, and partly to obtain the post of U. S. Naval store-keeper, inasmuch as this position would entitle me to gold bands on my cap and so place me on an equality with the native officials. So I got ready and started in the ship *Carrington*, and arrived in San Francisco on October 16th, after a passage of 29 days.

XXIII.

October 17th. I called on my old employer and friend Mr. T. G. Cary, Jr., and stated the object of my visit. I distributed the presents I had brought for my San Francisco friends, and the disposal of such goods as I had brought for sale I entrusted to Mr. Cary.

November 10th. On hearing of my wish to get an appointment from the U. S. Government, Mr. Cary advised me not to write but to go in person to Washington. He said that this would expedite the matter greatly, and that he would obtain for me a memorial to the Secretary of the Navy from the Bankers and Merchants of San Francisco.

November 12th. I was sent for by Mr. Mudge, the chief of the appraiser's office in the Custom House, to give some information with respect to certain Japanese porcelain and lacquer-ware which had come by the *Carrington*. One of her passengers had sold his vessel, and with the proceeds had invested in curios to the extent of over $15,000. The ware was of a common kind enough, but it was new and strange to the Custom-House authorities and they fancied that its value was under-

stated in the invoices. I gave them an estimate of the cost of the goods in Yokohama, and my valuation proved satisfactory both to the authorities and the owners of the goods.

A few days lates I started for the East, furnished with the following documents:—

San Francisco, November 13th, 1861.

To the Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
Secretary of Navy.

SIR,—We beg respectfully to recommend to your notice, Mr. J. Heco as a suitable person to fill the office of the U. S. Naval Store-keeper at Kanagawa, Japan. Mr. Heco is a Japanese by birth, but a naturalized citizen of the United States—having lived for several years in this country. He speaks the English language fluently and has received a thorough mercantile education in this city. In 1858 Mr. Heco returned to Japan, in the employment of the U. S. Government and was of great service to the American Consul at Kanagawa, as Interpreter. Mr. Heco's object in applying for the office is to obtain a rank in the employ of the U. S. Government, which will place him on equal footing with the Japanese officials.

We know Mr. Heco to be a person of worth and integrity, and have no doubt he will be of great service to the U. S. Government if he is placed in a position where he can act directly with the Japanese officials.

We are, with great respect,
Your obedient Servants,

(Signed.) THOS. G. CARY.
" MACONDRAY & Co.
" WM. COLEMAN & Co.
" FLINT PEABODY & Co.
" TALLENT & WILD.
" HENRY HENTCH.
" C. ADOLPH LAW & Co.
" CHAS. BROOKS & Co.
" WM. NEWWELL & Co.

Custom-house, San Francisco,
Collector's office, November 14th, 1861.

The signers of the above memorial are Merchants and Bankers of high standing, and their representations are entitled to great weight. I entirely concur in them. It is within my own knowledge also, that Mr. Heco stands very high at Kanagawa. I have no doubt if an appointment of the kind referred to is to be made, his appointment would be very beneficial to this country.

(Signed.) IRA. P. RANKIN, Collector.
,, JAS. T. McLEAR, Surveyor.
,, RICH. CHIVENY, Navy Agent.
,, W. B. FARWELL, Naval Officer.
,, SAML. MUDGE, Appraiser.
,, S. H. PARKER, Paymaster.
,, ROBT. STEVENS, Superintendent, U. S. Branch Mint.

We arrived at Panama in due course, crossed the Isthmus and got on board the Company's steamer *Champion* bound for New York. On the morning of December 14th, 1861, when off the Island of St. Domingo, we sighted a steamer crossing our starboard bow. She was under sail and showing signals of distress. Our Captain took the precaution of changing our course so as to bear down upon the steamer without those on board being able to make out the exact build of our vessel. This was because several Southern privateers were known to be at work in these waters, some of which had lately done a deal of mischief.

When the stranger saw us bearing down upon him at full speed, he set all sail, got up steam and tried hard to run out of our course. It was plain

that he took us for a U. S. warship. When he discovered that we were only a private mail-boat, he again hung out signals of distress. Then when our Captain paid no attention to this, but drove on straight ahead as fast as steam would carry him, the stranger gave chase. But it was to no purpose. Afterwards we learned that it was the privateer *Sumter*, commanded by Capt. Sumner, that had been trying to play tricks upon us.

December 16th. About 2 p.m. we sighted the entrance to New York Harbour, and the pilot came on board with an armful of newspapers. Our passengers fell upon them with avidity, for they were all wild to learn the war news. The headings of the articles were of this cast: *The grand Army of the Potomac to move at an early date; A Great Battle imminent; The Southern Army 100,000 strong marching on Washington; One of the Federal Colonels to be tried for treason; The British Government make a formal demand on Uncle Sam to deliver up Mason and Slidell.*

Our passengers were all wildly excited at this and especially so over the British demand. Some asserted that the U. S. Government would never surrender Mason and Slidell, while others shook their heads and said that if the men were not given up war would inevitably follow, for the English would never let the matter rest as it was.

December 17th. After calling on my friend's uncle's firm, Cary & Co., I was taken ill and obliged to go to bed. It turned out to be measles that was the matter. It was rather odd that just at that time measles were raging in Japan, while I did not hear or see in the papers anything about the prevalence of the disease in America.

December 29th. I started for Boston to deliver the letters of introduction I had from Mr. Cary to his brother-in-law Prof. Agassiz and to Prof. Fulton. I went to Cambridge and called on my friend's mother, Mrs. Cary. She received me very kindly, and said that although she had never seen me, yet my name was a household word in the family. She invited me to come to dinner next day at two o'clock to meet and have a talk with Profs. Agassiz and Fulton.

On December 31st, I went to Mrs. Cary's where I found Mr. Cary, her daughter and Prof. Agassiz. I handed him the letter of introduction I had from his brother-in-law (Mr. T. G. Cary, Jr.). He read it and said that he would give me letters to Secretary Seward, Senator Sumner and others, which would help to carry my business through.

At dinner the Professor asked me about my own country and more especially about its Natural History. He was very anxious to obtain specimens and asked me if possible to send him some

when I got back. I promised to do so, and some time after my return I did send him about 20 cases of butterflies and other entomological specimens. They were shipped on the good ship *Contest*, but like many another good ship of that time she had the ill-luck to run across tho *Alabama*. The interview took place off the Cape of Good Hope, and my poor butterflies never got near America.

Mrs. Cary was very interested in our country and about the East generally. She was about 72 or 73 years of age, but hale and active. It was a matter of bitter regret to me that her husband, the gentleman who had written me such kind letters when I was in difficulties, had gone to another world and was no more. Thus I never had the chance of seeing him or of thanking him in person for all the kindnesses he had rendered me.

After dinner the Professor wrote several letters and handed them to me—all of them open. From them I could see that he was on very intimate terms with those he addressed, as the terms and expressions he used were in a most familiar style.

When I returned to my hotel I found a young gentleman waiting for me. He was young Mr. Temple of Dorchester. He had been sent by his father to invite me to stay in his family while I was there and would not take "no" for an answer to his invitation. So I gladly accepted and went.

The family treated me as if they had known me for an age, although the only shadow of a claim I had upon their hospitality was that young Mr. Temple's uncle (Mr. Pope) had been a fellow-passenger of mine when I came East from California with Senator Gwin. The Temples and their relatives were very strict religious people; I think they belonged to the so-called Puritan Sect. I was still suffering from the fag-end of the attack of measles I had in New York, and the attention they showed me under the circumstances was even more than I could have looked for in my own home.

January 1st, 1862. I got up early, remembering it was the New Year. But to my untold surprise there were no signs of a holiday whatsoever. Business was everywhere in full swing as usual. So I went to Boston and called on several firms to whom I had letters. Among others I called on a Mr. Boardman who I was informed was the owner of the barque that had picked us up in 1850.

After a stay of two days at Dorchester, and two more at New York I returned to Baltimore. I called on my old gentleman, Mr. Sanders, and he at once invited me to stay with him. He was highly delighted to see me, he said. When I told him the object of my visit he said that he would go with me to Washington, introduce me to Senator

Latham, and secure his aid to get the appointment for me.

January 7th. We reached Washington and drove up to Willard Hotel. We found the place filled to overflowing with officers in uniform from all parts of the country. Had Mr. Sanders not been with me I assuredly should have been roomless. But as he happened to know the proprietor and to be a frequent visitor, the landlord alloted us one room in common, expressing his regret at being utterly unable to give us a room each.

The dining-room presented a gay scene. Everywhere were caps with gold-bands, everywhere men with shoulder-straps and brass buttons. And everywhere above the clatter of forks and knives and plates resounded the hum of talk, and that talk was all about war and slaughter and the movement of armies.

On the way from Baltimore I had observed that nearly the whole extent of the road from there to Washington was lined with tents. Most of the men under canvas appeared to be raw recruits, evidently in evil plight by reason of the inclement sky that had been shooting down driving showers of rain and whirling sleet upon them for the last few days. For all the world their seeming was that of sick chickens in the midst of an autumn downpour. In the city were throngs upon throngs of strangers;

all these I was told were there to witness the great strife then raging between the North and South. The place was under martial law, with a guard of 30,000 armed men to keep it safe.

In the evening we called on the Californian Senator, Mr. Latham, and his wife. We were received with great kindness and consideration, but this being a formal call, we refrained from touching on the special business that had brought us. I only hinted that I had brought letters from California for him, saying that I would call with them next morning. Upon this the Senator said that he would be busy in the morning, and invited Mr. Sanders and myself to dine with him and his family in the evening when we could talk over business at our leisure.

Next morning I went and called upon several of my old friends, among others on Mr. Wallace, Editor and Proprietor of one of the leading papers, and who had been very kind to me during my previous visit. On my way to the Capital I met the Hon. H. May of Maryland. He conducted me to the Senate Chambers, and from there to the Supreme Court. As we entered he introduced me to several of the Judges, among whom one in particular, Justice Craine I think, was very kind, and asked me many questions about my country. He seemed to take quite a deal of interest in Japan

and in myself, and even invited me to his residence. About a quarter of an hour after our entrance the sitting of the Court began. I observed that there were five Justices, all with long black cloaks wrapped around them. They sat in arm-chairs listening patiently to the statements of Counsel. Those who went to hear the cases were just as still as though they had been made of wood, or were so many figures of stone. One could hear even the dropping of a pin.

When I got back to the Hotel, I found that my old gentleman had finished his business and gone back to Baltimore, leaving a message with me for the Senator.

In the evening I went and dined with the Senator. Before dinner I handed him several letters of introduction from friends in California, and also shewed him the memorial to the Secretary of the Navy drawn up by the San Francisco merchants and bankers. He read them and said:—

"You have the strongest recommendations, for the signers of the memorial are the most noted and influential men in San Francisco, and I am pretty sure you will get the appointment. However, you had better bring these documents to-morrow at nine o'clock, and I will go with you to see the Secretary of the Navy about it."

About 10 o'clock I took my leave. While on

my way towards the Hotel I was accosted by a soldier standing in the street with a rifle in his hand, whom I took be one of the city-guard.

He called out "Who goes there?" or words to that effect. I had no idea that he was speaking to me, so I went on towards him. Suddenly he repeated the words, and raised his rifle and pointed it at me. As quick as thought I called out "Friend," upon which he brought his gun to its former position and I passed on safely. I was told afterwards that on account of the war the city was under martial law, and that after 9 p.m. all passengers were saluted in the same unceremonious fashion as I had been by the soldiers on guard.

January 9th. I went to the Senator's with all the documents and together we set out for the Navy Department. We walked into the Secretary's office, where we found Mr. G. Weller writing something with his spectacles on. The Senator walked up to him, shook hands, introduced me to him, told him the object of our visit, and handed him the memorial. The Secretary read it, and then turning to the Senator delivered himself as follows:—

"Senator, you know as well as I do that with the present trouble, I cannot make any increase in the staff of the Naval depôt in the East. Besides, it is possible that we may have to order home the

one single vessel that is out there at present. So I cannot very well comply with the wishes of the memorialists. I recommend you to see Seward who has charge of the Legations and Consulates out there. Take this and shew it to him."

So saying he handed back the memorial, and the Senator and I took our leave and set our faces towards the State Department. When we entered that Department we found Mr. Seward busy signing thousands of passports for military men and others. These passports were strewn in wild confusion all over the floor. Mr. Seward glanced at us as we entered and said "How do you do, Senator?" and shook hands with him. The Senator then tried to introduce me, but Mr. Seward interrupted him saying.

"Why, Senator, I know him. This is my old acquaintance and friend who was here with your predecessor Senator Gwin!"

Then he turned to me remarking that I had grown greatly since the last time he had seen me.

The Senator explained our business and handed him the memorial. Mr. Seward read it and said:—

"I see that your friend wishes the naval storekeeper's post, but why not take the position of interpreter; for the last enactment has just created an interpretership at the Kanagawa Consulate, al-

though no appropriation has as yet been made for it. But if your friend will take the place I'll send in the Bill at once, and you will look after it and get it through."

Then turning to me he went on:—

"Since you have come so far, you had better wait a little and take that position."

I thanked Mr. Seward for his kindness and agreed to wait and accept the post. We then took our leave, the Senator going off to the Capitol and I to my hotel.

On my way I called on Mr. Sumner (Senator from Massachussetts) to whom I had a letter of introduction from Prof. Agassiz of Cambridge. He received me very cordially, but he was very busy writing out a speech. However he said he would be happy to give me all his aid in promoting my affairs and asked me to call again. So I cut short my visit, thanked him for his kindness and promised to do as he requested.

January 12th. After dinner as I was smoking in the reading-room, a stout, well-built gentleman of about 45 came up to me and asked me whether I was not from Japan and called Mr. Heco. I told him I was. He then told me his name, and said his sister was married to Mr. G—. in California and that he had written to him to find me and take me home to stay with his family while I was in

Washington. I thanked him and told him that as I was then about return to Baltimore, I could not accept his kind invitation, but that I might do so at some future date. Next day I left for Baltimore, where I again took up my quarters with my old gentleman.

February 6th. I had received several letters from Capt. Boothe, pressing me to visit him at Alexandria, and so on this day I went to see him. Three days later it was Sunday, and I went to Church with his family. On our way home from service we noticed a great tumult and commotion in the street. On asking what the matter was, we were told that at St. Paul's the clergyman had just been taken out of the Church by the soldiers. It seems that he prayed for the President of the Confederacy, but had omitted all reference to the President of the North, and upon this some of the soldiers at the service had jumped up and hotly demanded that he should pray for President Lincoln. But the clergyman had disregarded their noise, and gone on with the service, whereupon the soldiers had gone up to the pulpit and 'lent him a hand to come down.' They had carried away the clergyman, surplice and all, with the prayer-book in his hands. Hence all the bustle and commotion on this the Lord's Day.

After dinner my host and I went out to call on

some of his friends. We had called on a Mr. Bryant (a large dry goods merchant there) and I had been introduced and we were just entering into conversation about the occurrence of the fore-noon at the Episcopal Church, when to our great surprise a Lieutenant entered the room. And the manner of his coming could boast of but scant ceremony, for he presented himself without ringing the bell, or giving any warning whatsoever.

"Madam and gentlemen," he began right away, "excuse my intrusion, but I act by the orders of my superior officer. Are these all that are in the house?"

As he said this he swept his eye over all four of us.

Our host answered "Yes."

"Then," the officer went on politely enough but in tones of authority that sounded as if he would take no denial, "all the gentlemen are requested to accompany me to the Provost Marshal's office."

At this, our host and Captain Boothe looked wonderingly at each other, and then the former turned to me and said he was more than sorry that such a thing had happened in his house. He made a thousand apologies to me for the occurrence and protested that he could not in the least understand what the Provost Marshal meant or wanted.

However there was no help for it, so out we

went after the officer and walked up the street. As we got into the street, I noticed about a score of armed men lounging there seemingly at random. They all followed us till we arrived at the office. I was told afterwards that in case we had resisted the officer, these men were there to lend the irresistible and conclusive argument of physical force to the Lieutenant's representations.

When we entered the office we saw two officers in uniform,—one sitting by the fire reading a newspaper with his back to the door, and the other at a desk writing. They both looked at us keenly as we entered, and the Lieutenant saluted and said that he had brought us according to orders. The officer by the fire ran his eye over us again, and then pointing at me, said brusquely:—"That is the gentleman that is wanted, Lieutenant. Please take him upstairs."

Upon this I went up to the Captain and took out my passport and showed it to him, remarking that he must have taken me for somebody else. Mr. Bryant and Capt. Boothe also endeavoured to explain. The Captain read the passport and then said that he received a telegram from Washington, ordering him to arrest me, "So please follow that officer upstairs," he said coolly in a tone that meant he did not wish me to argue the question with him.

So I had no alternative but to leave my friends,

and follow the officer. I was taken up to a dirty looking room of about 18 × 16 ft. with an uncarpeted wooden-floor which appeared to be virgin soil as far as any broom was concerned. In it were a few wooden benches and a litter of canvass duck sails in one corner. And here the Lieutenant left me. In the inner room I found an occupant who at once entered very eagerly into conversation with me. When I asked why he was there, he said that he would be very glad if some one could give him just that self-same identical piece of information, for it was more than he knew "by a lot." He had been taken up at the line about two weeks before and had been kept in this unswept ice-chest ever since, with no fire, and only canvass duck-sail for a blanket, and food that a fairly decent Christian wouldn't think of offering to his pigs. As for a chance of communicating with his friends and relatives, or of letting them know where he was there was none. He talked very bitterly and at the same time very eloquently about his plight, and earnestly besought me to make his case known when I got out. Just at this point the Lieutenant came back and asked me to walk down-stairs with him. He told me that my friends had made arrangements with the Captain and the Provost-Marshal so that I might leave the place. So I went down-stairs with him, and met Messrs.

Bryant and Boothe, and we all walked out of the office.

On our way home they informed me that they had to give bonds to the extent of $25,000 for my re-appearance when wanted. I told them that I had hitherto had no adequate idea of my own worth or importance.

February 10th. My host got ready the buggy to drive me over to Washington. Before starting he went to see the Provost-Marshal in order to find out about my case and at the same time to inform him that we were going over to the city. In half-an-hour's time my friend came back with the following story:—

It seemed that a report had got about that the Confederate General, B—— had suddenly disappeared from his own quarters and been seen near Washington reconnoitering preparatory to an attack on the Federal Capital. Just at this moment one of the detectives who all unknown to me had been shadowing me for several days appeared at his office with an old faded photograph of the General, and saying "That's the man," pointed at me. So the Provost-Marshal had me arrested at once, not knowing or even dreaming that any Japanese was wandering about in the town of Alexandria. After my arrest he had sent for the detective to come and identify me, but he had not

come as yet. But as the Captain was now quite convinced that he had arrested the wrong man, he said he would not keep us any longer in suspense, but would release me and my friend's bond. At the same time he sent a message of apology for making the mistake.

We went to Washington and saw Mr. Seward. I asked him about my application, and told him what had befallen me on the previous day. He laughed and said that in times like those such mistakes had often taken place, and that it was very flattering to me to be taken for such a distinguished man.

February 11th. During the night there was a fire in the town. It was in the newspaper office, and it was burned to the ground. It was rumoured that some soldiers had set fire to the place, on account of an article in the paper on the arrest of the Clergyman on Sunday, which was not altogether to the liking of these men of war. Next day it was reported that some Volunteers from Illinois had prevented the fire-men from putting out the fire, and that the Commanding officer of the city had ordered these volunteers out of the place in consequence. They went away in the night, but returned next morning to defy the order. On account of this the Commanding officer was said to have sent in his resignation to the Headquarters at

Washington. This rumour seems to have been contradicted next day. But it was stated in the local paper that the Governor of the town was far too good to be there, as he was more of a Southerner than a Northerner, and that he ought to be removed. It was on account of this that the Governor had sent in his resignation. Along with it he sent a statement of what he had done. The authorities refused to accept his resignation, approved of his action, and increased his powers. Whereupon he effectually cleared the town of these disorderly soldiers on that very day.

February 13th. When we got up, we noticed the American flag flying from almost every house-top or roof in town. We were told that on the previous night the soldiers who were ordered out had placed these flags there. They did this to annoy the residents for many among them were said to be in full sympathy with the South.

Early in the forenoon it commenced to rain, and the rain soon turned into sleet and then into snow. My host insisted that I should prolong my stay with him but I had made up my mind to leave. So at 11 a.m. I thanked him and his family for their hospitality, bade them *sayonara* and left for Baltimore. When I arrived there I found my Commission awaiting me.

March 10th. During the previous day we

had heard the dull rumble of cannonading in the distance. And now to-day the place was wild with excitement at the news. A great naval battle had been fought at Hampton Roads between the North and the South. The Southern warship *Merrimac* had rammed the Federal men-of-war *Cumberland* and *Congress* and sent them to the bottom.

March 12th. My departure homeward was near at hand, so I thought I would call on friends and officials at Washington and bid them adieu and thank them for their kind attention to me. So I first called on Mr. Seward. I said I had come to thank him for the appointment and to bid him good-bye.

"Ah!" said he. "So you are ready to go back to your native country! But have you seen our Tycoon?"

I said that I had not yet had that pleasure.

Then he said that I must not go away without seeing "our great man." And he asked me to wait a little, as he would then take me and introduce me to the President.

In a quarter of an hour or so he said, "Now, Mr. Heco, we will go." So saying we walked out of his office, and into the rear garden, when he look hold of my arm and walked me across to the President's mansion. As we walked on he said:—

"To-day is Cabinet meeting-day, but I cannot

let you go away without your seeing our great and good man."

We entered the President's office and found him seated in an arm chair tilted back on to its two hind legs, with his ancles crossed over each on the desk in front of him and his spectacles up on his forehead. He was listening patiently to an army officer who sat near by with lots of documents in his hands and lots more on the corner of the desk beside him. As we entered the President glanced at us, and Mr. Seward pointed me to a chair and told me to be seated. He himself went and picked up a newspaper off a table, sat down on the sofa near by and began to read.

I looked round the room and listened to the officer talking to the President. As far as I could gather from the drift of his flow of words, the man was a cavalry colonel who had been suddenly dismissed by his superior officer. He thought this was very unjust and wanted the President to intervene and reinstate him in his post.

Presently the President seemed to wax a trifle impatient at the man's long pleading. And he turned to that officer and said to him :—

"Well, Sir, I have been listening quite long enough to your complaints. And, my dear colonel, I'll tell you what;—I think you are the most long-winded talker I ever listened to!"

At this the officer jumped up from his seat, gathered up all his documents with trembling fingers, hastily crammed them into his coat-pocket, and said:—

"Mr. President, I am much obliged to you for the compliment you have just paid me. Good-morning!"

"All right, Sir!" replied the President, and the colonel dashed out through the door as if he had been a shot.

After the man had disappeared the President got up and walked towards us, and we rose from our seats.

"How do you do, Seward?" he said, and he shook hands with that gentleman.

Mr. Seward then said:—

"Allow me to introduce my young friend, Mr. Heco, a Japanese gentleman."

The President stretched out a huge hand, saying he was glad to meet one coming from such a far-off place as Japan. He shook hands with me very cordially, and then he made a great many inquiries about the position of affairs in our country.

Whilst we were talking the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Chase) came in, and then the Secretary of the Navy. So I made a move to take my leave by thanking the President for the

appointment. I bade all of them good-bye and received their good-wishes, and came away.

The President was tall, lean, with large hands, darkish hair streaked with grey, slight side-whiskers and clean shaved about the month. He was dressed in a black frock coat. It was said that he was a most sincere and kind person, greatly beloved by all those who came in contact with him, and more especially by his party and his friends.

April 1st. I left New York in the *North Star* which was said to have been specially built for Commodore Vanderbilt, who had made a trip to Europe in her. We arrived at Aspinwall at the usual time and crossed to Panama and got on board the *Sonora.*

A few days before our arrival in San Francisco I noticed great excitement on deck. I went to see what the matter was, when I saw a boy of about 15 years of age, led round the deck by two sailors. A piece of white shirting with the word *Thief* on it ran across his shoulders, and one end of it hang down to his hip. It seemed that the boy, who was the son of a 2nd cabin passenger had stolen something belonging to a 1st cabin passenger, and the Captain of the steamer thought well to teach the youngster a lesson he would not forget.

April 26th. We arrived at San Francisco,

and I at once went to Mr. Cary's office and informed him of the result of my trip.

May 5th. In the morning papers I noticed that another batch of Japanese castaways had been picked up by the ship *Victor* and brought into port. So I called on the Japanese Consul (Mr. Brooke) and accompanied him on board to see them. They were 12 number; their junk belonged to Owari, and had been blown off the coast and had drifted about for several weeks at the mercy of the wind and the waves, until the *Victor* had at last sighted them. The Consul and myself succeeded in obtaining a passage for them on the schooner *Ida* and despatched them for Kanagawa on May 2nd, 1862.

On May 27th I left California homeward bound *viâ* Honolulu and China and arrived at Hongkong on September 5th. Here we learned that the American war was still going on. It was said that General McLellan had attacked Richmond, but had been beaten back with a loss of 20,000 men, and that the President had called out more men, but that the Northerners had refused to support him. Owing to these Federal reverses the general feeling among the Hongkong community was not so friendly to the Americans as it had been before. The Queen's proclamation had just been issued declaring that neither of the belligerents should be allowed to remain in the port of Hongkong for

longer than 24 hours at a time. American shipping and trade there had all but disappeared.

September 11th. I left Hongkong on the *Rona* for Shanghai, *viâ* Amoy and Foochow, at the latter of which ports I stayed a few days with Mr. Clark and his wife, who treated me with the utmost kindness.

On our way up the river to Ning-po we met the Chinese Government steamer *Confucius* with the dead body of General Ward on board. He was reconnoitering outside his camp, when his own guard mistook him for one of the enemy, fired upon him, and killed him. After we came to anchor some of our passengers went ashore to see the city. In about two hours they came back in great haste and reported that the rebels had captured the town, that the gates were closed and that they could not get in. As they were talking, we suddenly observed a number of native boats, crowded with men, women and children, and laden with household goods rowing lustily down the stream. We supposed that it was endeavouring to escape from the rebels. Presently another passenger returned with the information that the gates of the place were shut, because the authorities wished to stop the efflux of the timid that had just commenced, but that notwithstanding considerable numbers had succeeded in getting away.

And our boat profited greatly in consequence by reason of the crowd of passengers who applied to be taken to Shanghai.

On the 27th we arrived at Shanghai, and I at once secured a berth on board the *Governor Wallace* bound for Kanagawa. On the 29th we dropped down to Woosung, ready to sail for Japan.

XXIV.

September 30th. I was aroused by our Captain who told me that a steamer had just come in from Kanagawa with word that a rebellion had broken out in Japan and that three Englishmen had been cut down near Yokohama while out riding. He asked me to board the steamer and to find out particulars. When I reached her (the *Lancefield*) the Captain took me into his cabin and informed me that the report was quite true with the exception of the story of the rebellion.

In the afternoon we got under weigh and arrived at Yokohama on the 13th October. I went ashore and took up my quarters with my old friend Mr. Ed. Clarke who had prepared a place for me within his compound. I had been absent from Yokohama for more than a year. I came back to find both the foreign and the native communities in wild excitement over an event that had happened at Nama-mugi, a little village on the Tōkaidō, between Kanagawa and Tsurumi.

On inquiring I found two versions of the occurrence. The foreign one was as follows:—

Certain visitors from China accompanied by some residents of Yokohama had gone on an excursion on horse-back to Kawasaki. As they were riding along they met several *daimio* trains, among which was that of Shimadzu Saburo, the father of the Prince of Satsuma. On meeting this the foreigners tried to get out of the way, but their horses became restive and frightened and finally unmanageable. One of the horses got entangled in the moving crowd, and seemingly broke the train. Upon this the men in the train sprang at the riders with drawn swords and cut at them. One of the foreigners fell, and two more were wounded and rode back to Kanagawa as fast as their horses could go. There was a lady in the party, and she escaped and fled to the U, S. Consulate and reported the occurrence. Upon this there was wild excitement in Yokohama. The foreigners held a meeting at which it was proposed to fall upon the train of Shimadzu at Hodogaya where he purposed to pass the night. As they were on the point of starting out on the venture, the Governor of Kanagawa intervened and made request that they should desist and leave the matter in his hands. And he prevailed upon them to do as he requested.

According to the native version, four or five

foreigners were riding towards Kawasaki, when they met a *daimiō* train from Yedo which proved to be that of Shimadzu Saburo. The foreign riders seemed to break the train, and the *samurai* called to the foreigners to get out of the way, but somehow they either would not or could not do so. Whereupon some one shouted out "Cut down!" and at the words several *samurai* drew their swords and fell upon the foreigners. And one fell to the ground and the rest ran back. The female rider was the first to turn, and then two of the males followed. These latter must have received wounds, for they saw them bleeding. Further, they said, that a few minutes before the occurrence an American who spoke the native language was riding toward Kawasaki. When he saw the train, he dismounted, and got on one side holding his horse by the bridle till the whole train passed, and nothing whatsoever had happened to him.

My informant went on to say that it was a common belief among the *samurai*, that when the Lord's train is broken or scattered by others, as had just happened, it is a bad omen and a sure precursor of calamity to their clan. He also said that on his way to Yedo a few months before, Shimadzu Saburo had gone to Yokohama and bought a steamer for $120,000 from a

foreign house there. Thus Shimadzu really entertained no bad feelings towards foreigners. But it was said that when he had got to Yedo, he had requested the Shōgun's Government to recommand the Mikado to grant him the little of *Osumi-no-Kami*, since his own son had become chief of Satsuma. But the Shōgun's Government had refused to move in the matter, and hence Shimadzu had waxed wroth against it. So on his way back, when his train met foreign riders who did not get out of the way, but broke it, his men naturally got up and fell upon them, wishing thereby to entangle the Shōgun's Government in difficulties with foreign nations.

October 15th. I reported myself to the U. S. Consul and entered upon my duties at the Consulate. I continued in this position until next Sept., when I resigned on account of my business.

November 23rd. This evening the U. S. Minister and Consul and myself dined with my friend Mr. Ed. Clarke. In the course of conversation the topic of "Exchange" cropped up. Now inasmuch as my salary was calculated in Mexicans it was a matter of some moment for me, for the Mexican instead of being at par was going for 2¾, 2½ and even as low as 2¼ instead of the nominal 3 *bu.* And this did not at all affect either the Minister or the Consul, for the one got

an exchange allowance of $1,500, and the other of $1,000 a month from the native authorities at par. So now I asked the Minister whether I was not also entitled to an allowance also. To this he replied that I had no right whatsoever to such an allowance, and that only the Minister and Consul were entitled to it. I then said the subordinates on the French and English Diplomatic and Consular staffs had such an allowance in proportion to their respective salaries.

"Ah! but," said the Minister, "the arrangement is different in their case. The allowance is made to the *Legations* and *Consulates*, and consequently it is distributed among the subordinates. But with us Americans, the allowance is made to the *Minister* and the *Consul* only. That was the way in which the arrangement was originally made with the Japanese authorities."

I then asked whether, if that was so, the Minister could not apply to the Government for an allowance for me. He answered that neither he nor the Consul could do any such thing, inasmuch as the arrangement had been fixed at the outset as he had stated.

November 24th. For the first time since my return I issued my monthly business circular to distant friends. I extract from it, the following:—

"On the 3rd instant, His Majesty the Shōgun

accompanied by the Prince Minister held an archery meeting at the so-called pleasure grounds in the environs of Yedo ; and contrary to all former precedent there were no regal displays, but merely a mounted escort of 12 officers."

"It was now been officially notified to the Foreign Representatives that the Shōgun will repair to the city of the Mikado early next spring accompanied by the Prince-President and numerous *Daimio*. The journey it is said, will be made by sea, and the following steamers and sailing vessel have already been purchased by the Government and the *Daimio*. The *Fiery Cross* $110,000, *Lanceficld* $115,000, *St. Louis* $80,000, *Iinkee* $150,000, and the *Wallace* $14,300.

"This was the great epoch from which the *Daimio* and Shōgun's Government began to act progressively."

"We have just received news to the effect that on the 12th instant the Shōgun s Government has issued the following notice to the people, viz. :—

"Our country has entered into treaties with several Foreign Nations, and I therefore command that all my subjects shall combine to carry out such measures for the good of the country. At present it grieves me to see that there are in my dominions so many people dissatisfied because I have consented to admit foreigners into the coun-

try. I further regret to see that so large a body of men should feel displeased with my action.

"To all far-seeing men, it is clear that the time has now come when we can no longer resist the influx of Foreigners into the country, and therefore it is my wish that all the *Daimio* shall withdraw to their respective territories and strengthen themselves for the defence of the Empire.

To *Daimio*, "If there be within your province any men of inventive genius whose discoveries in any matters concerning either peace or war, are likely to benefit the nation—notify my Government hereof, and be assured they shall be suitably rewarded.

"During your stay at the capital, you will consult about the plan to be adopted for the defence and protection of the country on the sea board, and you are fully privileged to enter my castle whenever you desire to speak of anything that concerns the national good. Hereafter there shall be no restriction imposed on any of my subjects either high or low;—and all are at liberty to express freely their opinions about the Government matters and the country—provided however they do not tend to the subversion thereof."

After the above notice had been issued to the people and the *Daimio* by the Shōgun's Government, all the *Daimio* began to withdraw from Yedo

to their respective territories. They took their families with them for the first time for two centuries. From the firm establishment of the House of Tokugawa, the Shōguns had kept the families of the *Daimio* in Yedo as hostages for the peace and good behaviour of the nobles.

It is stated and generally believed that the above measure was initiated by the *Daimio* of Echizen, at that time Minister President of the Shōgun's Government. And it is to this same measure that the speedy downfall of the Shogun's power is to be attributed.

January 20th, 1863. From another of my monthly circulars I extract the following :—

"Gloomy and perplexing rumours are almost of daily occurrence, and the continued departure of *Daimio* from Yedo is now being followed up by numerous shop-keepers, artisans and those hitherto dependent on their patronage for support.

"There have been occasional affrays between the retainers of rival *Daimio*,—one in particular when the men of Satsuma had a conflict with those of Tosa; of the former eleven and of the latter three were killed in Yedo.

"It is stated that another Ambassador from the Mikado has suddenly appeared at Yedo. He is of even higher rank than the Shōgun, and at audience, (the report says) demanded to know

from the Shōgun, his reason for permitting foreign residents in the country (Japan) after having been repeatedly warned by the Mikado's Government to expel the foreigners from the soil of His Majesty the Mikado.

"It is a matter of common talk among the natives that the Shōgun s position is a very delicate one, for the Mikado (his superior) has peremptorily ordered or demanded of the Shōgun to expel all foreigners from the country, while on the other hand the Shōgun has no power to obey the order, or to do so. The Government of the Shōgun is evidently doing all they can within their power to temporize and prolong the situation until the interview between the Shōgun and the Mikado comes off in March or April next at Kioto, when a good understanding must either be arrived at, or the further residence of foreigners under the Treaties of 1858 will be rendered impossible.

"In the meantime, it is needless to record that the authority of the Shōgun is already completely set at nought in the region about Osaka and Kioto by the armed adherents of several Princely houses, and the drift of their tactics may be judged from two facts which have come to the surface free from the obscurity with which public opinion is surrounded in this country, viz.:— Uncompromissing hostility to the officers of the

Government, and the greatest consideration to merchants and the non-official classes. From all of which it is apprehended by Japanese of solidity and position that it is impossible to get through this crisis without a revolution in the country, and they do not hesitate to add that with the return of warm weather the trouble may or will begin &c."

January 25th. A native physician, who had been one of the pupils of Dr. S—— at Nagasaki in the earlier days, called at my house in the foreign Concession and told me he wished to place his son with me in order to learn the foreign languages. After his son was thus placed the old gentleman called frequently at my house to see him and at the same time to learn all he could about foreign affairs. In the course of our conversation one day, I asked him about contemporary Japanese politics, and he delivered himself of the following statement:—

"At the beginning of the 17th Century, after protracted Civil wars, the founder of the House of Tokugawa became the military ruler of the Empire. Under him there were some 260 odd *Daimio*. Some of these he had subdued in actual conflict, while others had made capitulations with him. These latter were called *Tozama*. Among the 260 were 18 *Daimio* known as *Kokushu*, and sometimes as great *Daimio*. After the Tokugawas

these were me most powerful feudal Houses in the country. The other *Daimio* were known as *Fudai*. These had submitted to Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawas, and had practically become his vassals before he established himself as Shōgun.

"Meanwhile the Mikado remained in virtual seclusion in Kiōto. His courtiers were called *Kuge*, and nominally were higher in rank than the military nobles. But their exalted rank was nothing but a mockery, for they were without the least vestige of actual power. The revenue of the Mikado was fixed at 100,000 *koku* of rice per annum. On this he had to support the whole Court of Kiōto; only it was the duty of the Shōgun's Government to repair or rebuild the Emperor's Palace when necessary, to furnish a Governor and a guard for Kiōto, and to appoint all the officials for that city. The Mikado reserved to himself the right of conferring all ranks and titles, and from this source he is said to derive a considerable income.

"The Shōgun with his residence in Yedo is feudal lord of 8 Provinces in the Kwanto adjoining, and is besides the owner of numerous other little patches scattered all over the face of Japan. His revenue is estimated at between 8 and 9,000,000 *koku* of rice.

"The *Daimio* for 6 months every year resided in their respective territories where they collected

taxes, administered justice and governed their own immediate subjects.

"As to the laws in the various *Daimioates* they were of course different in matters of detail, but in the main point,—capital punishment for example—they were pretty much at one throughout the whole extent of the Empire.

"The Shōgun reserved to himself the right of coining gold, silver and copper. But the *Daimio* may upon application receive permission from the Yedo Government to issue *Koku-satsu* (paper currency for local circulation) within their own provinces to the extent of their annual income. All *Daimio* are required to maintain at their own expense a force of soldiers in proportion to the amount of their assessed revenue. The services of these forces were at the disposal of the Shōgun at any time.

"Thus in fact the Shōgun was supreme ruler of the country, but from about the time of the conclusion of Treaties with Foreign Powers several of the *Kokushiu Daimio* had become jealous of his power and especially of the lucrative income he now began to derive from Foreign commerce (the tariff). Three or four of them consequently began to conspire against him. These *Daimio* made constant visits to Kiōto where they intrigued with the Court Nobles, through them urging the Mikado to

force the Shōgun to expel all foreigners from the country. But these *Daimio* all the while are quite aware that this task of expelling foreigners is an impossible one. But should the Shōgun declare as much publicly, or confess his inability to overtake it, these *Daimio* will at once call upon him to resign his power and restore it to the hands of the Mikado. Then when this is done, these *Daimio* count upon getting the governing power into their own hands.

"And day by day the Shōgun s power seemed to wane and dwindle while the Party for the Restoration of the Mikado waxed bold and strong apace."

March 25th. From this date the British forces began to gather in Yokohama, and rumours became rife that the English Government intended to lay before the Shōgun's Government their demands in connection with the Nama-mugi affair of the 14th September, 1862. It was also reported that the Shōgun had suddenly departed from Yedo for Kiōto with an armed train of 250 men. This he had done to evade the preferment of the English demand.

April 6th. It is reported that the English *Chargé d'Affaires* had sent in to the Shōgun's Government his ultimatum in connection with the Nama-mugi affair. The Japanese Authorities were

called upon to punish the assassins, and to hand over a large sum of money for the support of the relatives of the killed and of those who were wounded. A space of 20 days was allowed the Shōgun's Government for a reply. And almost immediately the British Authorities at Yokohama issued a notice to all the Foreign Representatives there of the above fact, and requested them to notify the same to their respective citizens and subjects. This created a great stir among the foreigners in the place but we noticed that the native authorities remained cool and seemed to look upon the situation as not in any way serious. It was not till the 20 days had all but expired that they began to evince any anxiety in connection with the matter.

Then it was rumoured and generally believed at the time that the Government at Yedo had sent two Ambassadors of high rank to the British Authorities to ask them for an extension of 30 days, on the ground that the Shōgun was then absent from the Capital, and that the *Chargé d'Affaires* had consented to a delay of 20 days.

Later on towards the end of April, it was rumoured that another Ambassador had come from Yedo asking for a further extension of time. The British *Chargé* was willing to grant 10 days more, but this was not satisfactory to the Ambassador and he asked for another interview with the English

Authorities on board the *Euryalus*. An interview with the *Chargé d'Affaires* and the Admiral was granted. What took place at that interview was not made known to the public, but it was generally supposed to have been of a satisfactory nature, inasmuch as the Governor Takemoto Kai no Kami accompanied the Ambassador to Yedo in great haste, and was at once despatched overland to Kiōto, whence he returned in 12 days. Meanwhile several notices were issued by the British Authorities, and several public meetings held by the community in Yokohama.

After the return of Governor Takemoto from Kiōto in May we believed that the Nama-mugi affair was approaching a satisfactory settlement. But such was not the case. It appears that Takemoto on his way back from Kiōto called on the English *Chargé d'Affaires* at Yokohama, and told him that he would come from Yedo to see him again in a few days. But he failed to make good his word. In consequence of this it was rumoured in the Settlement that his mission to Kiōto had been a failure, that he had been put in confinement by the Government at Yedo, and that on account of his friendly feelings towards foreigners he had been removed from his office of Governor of Kanagawa.

June 11th. It appears that the Shōgun's Go-

vernment had sent to see the British *Chargé d' Affaires* at the English Legation. At this interview they agreed to pay up the indemnity demanded by the British by the 18th, and signed documents to that effect. The other portions of the demand were to be discussed afterwards.

It was reported that in consequence of these arrangements an English gunboat had been dispatched *viâ* Nagasaki to Shanghai with the intelligence that the matter had been satisfactorily settled. On the day following her departure however, the Governor of Kanagawa went and told the *Chargé d' Affaires* that he had been ordered by the *Gorōjiu* to inform him that they (the *Gorōjiu*) had received instructions from Kiōto to explain the situation to him and that he accordingly had come to do so fully. After he had ended his explanation, it was said that the *Chargé* had become greatly angered, and had told the Governor that until the agreement signed on the preceding day had been carried out to the letter, he absolutely refused to see or to have anything to say to any official of the Shogun.

On the next day the *Chargé* put the whole thing in the hands of the Admiral, instructing him to take such measures as he deemed most suitable to bring the Japanese Authorities to their senses.

June 20th. The French authorities raised

their flag on the Bluff and landed a body of Marines. And French Marines were quartered there for several years afterwards.

June 21st. The English Admiral issued a notice to all the Ministers and Consuls of the Treaty Powers and to British subjects resident in the place stating that it was his intention to take action. He requested the Ministers to warn their respective subjects to be ready to leave Yokohama within a week after the issue of the notice. This intimation caused a tremendous flutter among both the native and the foreign communities. It was said that the Admiral had sent a despatch boat to Nagasaki with instructions to convey all foreign residents there to Shanghai and that he had ordered all the available British forces in the East to muster at Yokohama.

Meanwhile in Yedo, it is reported that the Vice-Shōgun had issued an edict ordering all females, children, old men, invalids, and valuable effects to be removed to the interior, inasmuch as the Authorities were about to expel all foreign barbarians from the country. And in consequence of this it was reported that on the following day none remained in the Capital but male adults, mostly fighting men.

June 22nd. It is reported that the Lord Ii-Kamon no Kami has been ordered by the Govern-

ment to guard the line from Kanagawa to Kawasaki, and that during the previous night the Vice-Shōgun had instructed all the *Daimio* then in Yedo to hold themselves in instant readiness to attack the English and to defend the Capital. However this order was not particularly well received by not a few of the *Daimio*. For the most part they gave little heed to it, although some of them did make preparations as they had been enjoined to do.

On the other hand the native traders and residents in Yokohama were everywhere packing up their effects, closing their shops, and getting away from the place. The former were only too glad to dispose of their wares at any price. The whole of the native-settlement looked like a battle-ground, strewn as it was with a litter of everything in wild disorder. Everywhere was running to and fro and confusion. Carpenters, plasterers and labourers were clamouring and importuning foreign firms for wages, and for payment for contract-work not yet finished, some even enforcing their demands by the argument of brandished axes, spades, hoes and fire-hooks.

E. C. and I walked into the town and purchasd porcelain, paying at the rate of 5 or 7 *rio* for what usually fetched 25 or 30. But notwithstanding this cheap rate, we made no profit. For

immense cargoes were then sent by everybody to China ports, and the prices realized in consequence were contemptible.

Although the wild commotion in the native quarters did not prevail among the foreign community, yet the Settlement was not unruffled by ripples of excitement. In all quarters there was eager talk as to what the actual outcome of the situation would be. Would the affair be settled amicably, or would they really come to blows?

The Governor of Kanagawa went first on board the French flagship and then to the French Legation. This was said to be in order to consult the French Admiral and the Minister about the situation and to ask them to interpose as mediators in the matter. They agreed to the request, provided that Governor Asano handed over the amount of the indemnity to the English at once. And Asano forthwith took the responsibility of doing so upon his shoulders.

It is stated that at this interview the French Admiral asked the Governor whether it was true that the Mikado had ordered the Shōgun to instruct Hitotsubashi to drive foreigners from the country. The Governor replied that it was true, but that the Minister and the Admiral must not regard this as of any significance, inasmuch as Hitotsubashi was on too friendly terms with for

eigners ever to dream of attempting to execute any such order. Upon this the Admiral said that if Hitotsubashi ever did make any such attempt, he might count on finding one determined opponent in himself at least, for he would stand by his countrymen and protect them to the last. And if Hitotsubashi and the Government really entertained towards foreigners those friendly feelings they professed to do, why were the Japanese subjects in Yokohama allowed to flock away from the place as they were doing? The Governor replied that he would put a stop to this exodus when he returned to his office.

At night we found that there was not a native servant, or Japanese subject within the Foreign Concession, with the single exception of Dr. S. T.'s son in my own house. All the cooks and "boys" had stolen off one by one, after they had received a quiet hint from the native authorities to do so. So those who had placed their sole reliance on native servants had now to cook and serve their own dinners.

Governor Asano, however, according to his promise, issued a notice to the effect that the people must not remove from the place, and must create no disturbance in the foreign settlement. This notice had a good effect, and by sundown order again prevailed throughout all the community.

In the course of the excitement three Americans had been assaulted by some native carpenters and labourers, because they had refused to pay for part of contract-work which had not been fully completed. It was said that these Americans afterwards demanded damages through their Minister from the Shōgun's Government, and that they were awarded a considerable indemnity.

June 23rd. It is reported that the *Daimio* of Owari and Ota Gon-no-suke had received orders from the Government of Yedo to repair to Kiōto and bring back the Shōgun. In the evening Hitotsubashi arrived at Kanagawa *en route* to Yedo from Kiōto. He lodged at *Honjin* and sent for Governor Asano. The latter went over to see him, and they had an interview lasting several hours. It was surmised by the public that this interview was on the subject of the English claims, and sure enough, when the Governor came over to Yokohama he went immediately to the English Legation and told the *Chargé d'Affaires* that he would pay the indemnity straightway. The delivery of the money commenced that night and was completed by the following evening. When this was made known to the public, it was generally supposed that Hitotsubashi had received a message from the Shōgun at Kiōto, instructing him to pay the indemnity, rather than face the risk of involving the country in war.

On the following day the English *Chargé d'Affaires* notified the other Foreign Representatives that the difficulties of the English authorities with the Government of the Shōgun had been settled. In consequence of the publication of this news there was a great "jollification" among the native community of Yokohama.

Immediately after this, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs gave notice to all the Foreign Representatives that the Japanese Ministers at Yedo had received orders from Kiōto to expel all foreigners from the country. With this notice came a note to the following effect:—

"With this communication I beg to inform you that the feeling of the people of Japan is that they do not desire to have any further intercourse with foreign people, and that consequently their wish is to expel all foreigners from the open ports and to close the same.

"The above notice has been received by me from Kiōto with instructions to see you in person and to explain the matter more fully, but that before I did so, to intimate to you briefly in writing the intention of the Mikado and of the Shōgun, and to request that you will convey the above to your Government.

Signed with respect

OGASAWARA DZUSHŌ NO KAMI.

(Yedo, June 1863.)

It was said that the Foreign Representatives took not the least notice of this communication, beyond merely acknowledging its receipt. They laughed over it and looked upon it as altogether too childish for their serious consideration.

June 25th. About 500 men came from Yedo and embarked on the yacht *Emperor*, a vessel which had been presented by the Queen of England. It was said that she was to convey the native Minister for Foreign Affairs to Ōsaka *en route* for Kiōto.

June 26th. The *Banriu-maru* left Yedo for Ōsaka with the replies of the Foreign Representatives to the despatch relating to the expulsion of Foreigners from the country.

June 30th. News came from Yedo to the effect that at Fukagawa in that city, a large number of ship's carpenters were hard at work on a fleet of boats, to be used as a floating bridge between the shore and the Forts of Shinagawa. In consequence of this it was rumoured that the Government was now in earnest about its resolve to drive all foreigners from Kanagawa and elsewhere, and to confine them to the limits of Nagasaki. It was said that negotiations to effect this end would be opened upon the return of the Shōgun from Kiōto. A certain foreigner was said to be at the bottom of this business.

July 2nd. Governor Asano and the Vice-

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sakai, went on board the French flagship. This visit was said to be with regard to the "Bluff" affair. The French, as already stated, had run up their flag there on the 20th ultimo, and this action of theirs was not at all pleasing to the English and American Ministers.

July 3rd. It is reported that the Shōgun's Government have chartered two English merchant steamers, the *Elgin* at $12,000 and the *Rajah* at $10,000 per month. The meaning of this movement remains a mystery.

July 4th. The Minister Ogasawara Dzushō no Kami arrived from Yedo *en route* to Kiōto, whither Governor Asano is to accompany him. It is said they are to go in the steamer *Lye-e-moon*, which was bought for $145,000 by the Shōgun's Government through a certain foreign official.

July 10th. At an interview in the Consulate between the Governor and two subordinates on one side, and the Minister and the Consul on the other, I acted as Interpreter. On behalf of a certain religious body of which the Minister was an ardent number, the Minister urged the Governor to grant the piece of land immediately East of the Custom-House for the erection of a Church. The Governor replied that everybody's eye was set on that plot of ground, but that he could not grant it to any one, because it was expressly reserved for

the extension of the Custom House, or at all events for the use of the Government. Besides, the Government wished to retain possession of that piece of land, because the first American Treaty had been signed under the large trees growing on it If the land was granted, these trees would be cut down, and then there would be no landmark or memorial of the event left more. To this the Minister merely replied,

"All right; I'll see the *Gorōjiu* about it!"

Then he turned the talk on to the matter of exchange.

"I understand," he began, "that you have been allowing the French and English Admiral $30 exchange *per diem*, while the American Commander gets an allowance of only $3. Will you kindly explain the reason of this?"

The Governor said that the Commander was actually drawing more than his legitimate allowance, since according to the Custom House arrangements for Exchange, a Commander's allowance was fixed at $2 per day, while the American Commander was receiving $3, which was a post Captain's allowance.

To this the Minister replied that the American Commander was now the senior officer in the East, and that therefore he was Commander-in-Chief and consequently on the same footing as

the English and French Admirals on the Eastern Station.

"We Americans call our officers by different titles from other nations," he proceeded. "For instance the French and English call their rulers Emperor and Queen, the Japanese call theirs Tycoon, while we term ours President. In a similar way the English and French call their chief or senior naval officer Admiral, but on the Eastern Station here at present we call ours Commander. Every nation has its own way of naming its officials."

At this brilliant sally the Governor smiled, and said that he would look into the matter, and rectify any error he might have unwillingly committed.

Then the Minister turned to me, and said:—

"Now, Heco, please ask the Governor why he does not allow you your monthly exchange, although you hold a full commission from the President of the U. S."

I said I did not wish to bring this matter up, inasmuch as according to the Minister's own opinion openly and distinctly expressed a few months back, I had no right whatsoever to any such allowance.

"Never mind that," said the Minister testily. "Just you translate what I say."

At this point the Governor asked what we were arguing about, and I told him.

"About your exchange!" said the Governor, "Why, you have never applied for it. You have been of the utmost service to us as an interpreter also, and we should be only too happy to grant you your allowance. Please send in your application without delay."

I translated this to the Minister, and the Consul asked me to send in my application at once. To this I demurred. Then the Consul drew up the document and asked me to sign it. Then to avoid any further argument I put my name to it. I obtained $500 as back exchange, and that was all I got during my tenure of office.

Just at this point a Custom House officer came in great haste asking to see the Governor. He reported that two American missionaries had conveyed their furniture to the jetty and were on the point of crossing over to Kanagawa. He wished to know if they were to be allowed to proceed.

The Governor said that on no account were they to be permitted to do so in these dangerous times, and told the officer to go off and stop them at once. The officer replied that he and his colleague had done all they could to do so, but that they had been met with the answer that the time for which the authorities had asked the missionaries to remove and stay in Yokohama had expired, and that they now wished to get back to their old residence

at Kanagawa. The Governor told him to go and detain them till he heard from him, and then he turned to me, and asked me to request the Consul to interpose, inasmuch as he knew several *rōnin* were wandering about in Kanagawa on the outlook for a chance of creating trouble and that residence there at the present moment was fraught with infinite danger. The Consul said that no doubt they wished to return to Kanagawa, inasmuch as Yokohama was at once inconvenient for their work and very expensive. The Governor then said he would make these gentlemen a further allowance for exchange similar to the one he had already accorded them, if the Consul would detain them for the term of 60 days more. So the Consul sent a note to them at the jetty and stopped them from crossing.

July 11th. The American Minister received a dispatch from Shanghai, to the effect that the steamer *Pembroke* while at anchor in the Straits of Shimonoseki, on her way through the Inland Sea from Yokohama to Nagasaki and Shanghai, had been fired upon by some unknown Japanese vessel. The case was reported to the U. S. Minister by the owner of the steamer through the U. S. Consul at Shanghai. He requested the Minister to make complaint and to demand damages from the native Government.

In the afternoon the Minister sent to the Go-

vernor and asked him to come to the Consulate. He complied with the request and came, and found himself confronted with the U. S. Minister, the Consul and Commander McDougal. I acted as interpreter. The Minister began by asking the Governor, whether he had heard about the American steamer *Pembroke* having been fired into by some Japanese vessel in the Inland Sea. And if so, what was that vessel and to whom did she belong?

The Governor replied that he had heard of the occurrence, and believed it to be true, and that he thought the vessel which had made the attack belonged to Chōshiu.

"By whose authority did the Chōshiu men fire on the *Pembroke*?" the Minister next demanded. "Is the Shōgun's Government cognisant of the fact, and if so what steps have been taken? Or did the Shōgun's Government itself order the attack?"

To these interrogatories the Governor replied that Chōshiu had fired on his own responsibility, that the Shōgun's Government had had nothing to do with the matter whatsoever, but that the authorities at Yedo, being the Government of the country, were already making inquiries into the case and that they would certainly endeavour to arrest and punish the guilty party who had thus fired on a vessel belonging to a friendly nation. But that in-

asmuch as the news had only just reached Yedo, and since the authorities were fully occupied with the English case then pending, the Government had had no time as yet to consider what steps would be taken to deal with Chōshiu.

Then the Minister asked whether, since the Chōshiu men had acted on their own responsibility without orders from any other party, the Shōgun's Government would have any objection to his sending an American war-ship to punish Chōshiu for the outrage.

The Governor said this could not be thought of; he could not allow any foreign vessel to go and chastise Chōshiu directly, for if such a thing were permitted his own Government would be set at naught. The Government would investigate the matter as soon as they possibly could do so, and should it be found that Chōshiu had no good cause for his action, he would certainly meet with condign punishment according to the Japanese law. He (the Governor) therefore requested the Minister not to send any man-of-war, but to wait patiently until he heard from the Government at Yedo.

This ended the conference and the Governor took his departure. After the Governor had gone, the Minister, the Consul and Captain McDougal held a consultation. And the result of it was that

the Minister thought it best to send the *Wyoming* down to capture the vessel and to bring her as prize-of-war to Yokohama, if the Captain was willing to go. And if so, the Minister would go on the vessel for a trip. Captain McDougal at once said he had no objection whatsoever. And they immediately decided to leave Yokohama on the 13th. Then the Minister turned to me and told me that he wished me to accompany him. Thus the whole matter was arranged.

At eleven o'clock on the night of the 12th I received the following order from the Consul, written on a small piece of paper.

"Mr. Heco, you will be on board the *Wyoming* at 4 o'clock *sharp* without fail. Wishing you a pleasant voyage.

Your truly,

(Signed.) E. S. F——,

U. S. Consul.

July 12th, 10 o'clock p.m."

July 13th. I got up early in order to comply with the Consul's order, and not to disappoint the Minister, got on board a few minutes after 4 a.m. expecting to find the Minister already there. But he was not there.

The *Wyoming* had steam up and was ready to get under weigh. Captain McDougal asked me whether I had seen the Minister since the con-

ference of the day before. I said I had not, but that I had received the Consul's order at 11 p.m. the previous night, and had come off, thinking that he was already on board. Then the Captain said

"Well, he must be coming, since he agreed that he would!"

At 5.30 a.m. E. S. Benson came off, saying that he had heard that the *Wyoming* was going down the Inland Sea *on business* and that he had an invitation from one of the ward-room officers to join us for the trip. Meanwhile the Captain kept looking anxiously through the glass shore-wards, but never a sign of the coming of the Minister did he see. So at 5 m. past 6 o'clock we hove up anchor and steamed slowly out of the harbour of Yokohama. The Captain invited me to his cabin and placed me in the spare room, since the Minister had not come.

July 15th. After breakfast, the Captain, the Doctor and myself were sitting in the Captain's smoking-room when the Captain asked my opinion about the "situation" and of the feeling of the people and the *Daimio* towards foreign nations.

I told him that so far as I heard and knew the feelings of the *Daimio* towards foreign nations were divided, some being favourably disposed towards them, others being neutral, and some hostile. Those who were either actually or feignedly hostile

were strong, and were bent upon driving foreigners from the country at any cost. An order to this effect had been given by the Mikado to five of them, of whom Chōshiu was one.

He then asked me whether I thought the Choshiu men would fire on an American man-of-war. I said that a merchant man or a man-of-war would make no difference to them.

"Then do you think we ought to prepare for an attack?" asked the Captain.

"Yes, decidedly so." I answered. "It is highly advisible to make all the preparations and to take all the precautions necessary in a case of emergency."

After this conversation the Captain ordered his officers and men to prepare for action. The guns were shotted, and muskets and revolvers loaded and made ready for immediate use. At 3 p.m. we entered the Bungo Channel and passed the island of Takanaba. At 5 p.m. we came to anchor at Himeshima in the Suwō Nada close to the Bungo side.

July 16th. The weather was clear with not a cloud to be seen in the whole sky. About 5 a.m. we weighed anchor and steamed slowly onward in search of the vessel that had fired on the *Pembroke*. We zig-zagged from one side of the Suwō Nada to the other hoping to meet her, but without success.

So at length we changed our course from the Bungo to the Suwō side, and from there we made towards Shimonoseki. In case we failed to find the vessel, we meant to proceed to Hagi, the old Capital of Chōshiu.

By nine o'clock the sun in a cloudless sky had waxed scorching. There was not a breath of wind, the sea smooth as a tank of oil with not a ripple on its surface save that made by our own motion as we churned onwards. The deck was strewn with fire-arms and cutlasses ready for use at a moment's notice. About this time the Captain ordered the men to haul in the big guns and to cover up the ports with tarpaulin, so as to make us look like a merchant-man. About 10 p.m. we were within a few miles of the Eastern entrance of the Straits of Shimonoseki. The Lieutenant in the fore castle called out that he sighted two square-rigged vessels and a steamer at anchor close in to the town.

"All right, Sir," said the Captain. "We will steer right in between them and take the steamer."

When we heard this, every body on board, I noticed, became excited and some of the men became quite pale. For it was no easy matter to take an enemy's vessel without a hand-to-hand fight, and many of the crew I was told had never been under fire.

While Dr. Dambey, Mr. Benson and I were

standing on the quarter-deck the report of a big gun suddenly thundered in our ears. On looking up we saw smoke issuing from the wooded bluff on the mainland on our right as we were bearing down towards Shimonoseki. I at once hurried to the Captain on the bridge and told him that I fancied that this gun was a signal for battle. And on my way back to the quarter-deck a second report rang out from a second battery, further within the Straits. And in a few more seconds, yet another broke the silence and rolled rumbling about along the hill-sides. This was from the innermost battery of all on a lofty height right behind the town. A few seconds later, a tongue of fire leapt from the place where the first shot had been fired, and before the smoke had begun to float upwards I heard a hurtling screech, and a column of water spurted up and fell back with a splash just about twenty feet astern of where we were standing talking on the quarter-deck. The gunners on shore clearly meant business.

At the first fire Captain McDougal ordered the quartermaster to hoist the American flag at the peak, so that those on shore might be in no doubt as to who we were. But the people on shore paid but scant respect to our colours; their fire only grew hotter. So the Captain gave the order "*Make ready for action*,

The big 64 pounder guns were at once run out, and opened upon the batteries on shore. At precisely 10.50 a.m. we ran right in between the three Chōshiu vessels, and treated them to a salute from our two Dahlgren guns. After delivering our broadside we steamed slowly out and crossing the bow of the steamer *Lancefield*, we worked towards the channel pounding away at the enemy all the while. Meanwhile the enemy kept up an unflagging fire from ships and batteries alike. But their aim was wild; we noticed that the guns on shore were all fired and trained upon the channel, and we passed so close under them that their shot mostly went ten or fifteen feet overhead. But it was not at all nice or comfortable to hear them whizzing and screaming aloft among our rigging. And the worst of it all was that there was no chance of falling back to the rear, for in a fight on shipboard there is no such convenient thing as the rear to fall back to.

The steamer seemed to have some dignitaries on board, as we saw that she had purple awnings with the Prince's crest. As soon as we crossed the *Lancefield's* bows she slipped her cable and essayed to run for refuge into the inner harbour. At this instant the Captain called out to the gunner at the 11 inch Dahlgren to fire. But the gunner seemed to pay no attention until the Captain had

given the order for the third or fourth time. At last he did as he was told, and "Bang" went the gun with an ear-splitting crash. And as the smoke of the discharge drifted aside we saw a great volume of smoke and steam hissing and pouring from the *Lancefield's* deck, and at the same time she slewed slowly round and heeled over on one side, and in a minute or two down she went into the waters. When we saw the steam pouring out of her, our tars gave three rousing cheers, fancying that the 11 inch shell had burst within her And they heartened up wonderfully and went into the fight with all their soul and with all their strength and with all their mind. This lucky shot struck just at the right moment, for by this time several of our men had been laid low or disabled by shot and flying bolts and splinters.

The reason why the Captain of the gun did not let loose at the first word of command was that he was taking aim at the exact water-line. And when he did fire he hit the spot to a hair's-breadth. He finished the vessel by that single well-directed shot. It tore through one side of the hull, ripped through the boilers, out at the other side, and drove ashore and lodged there without ever bursting. This I learned from the Chōshiu officers afterwards.

When we got out into the channel, we touched

on a sunken rock, but by backing, we got off scatheless. While we were between these three vessels, we stopped the engines, and gave them broadside upon broadside. And so little did they like the fare we served up for them, that we noticed many of their crews jumping overboard to escape by swimming.

Thus we fought 6 batteries, a barque, a brig and a steamer. We silenced all the batteries, and as for the brig and the steamer we sank them. And all this was done in a little more than one short hour. We ceased firing at 20 m. after 12 p.m.

From our observation it appeared that all the guns were trained on the channel, and placed so as to rake the course usually taken by foreign vessels in passing the Straits. Had it not been for the Captain's clever manœuvre of running right-close inshore under their batteries, every shot they fired would have hulled us. But as it was they all screeched harmlessly over us. The only punishment we received we got from the vessels.

During the engagement we fired 53 shot and shell in all, with the result I have above mentioned. The Chōshiu men discharged 130 rounds in all, of which 22 did us actual damage. These hit our rigging, smoke-stack and hull, and killed 5 and wounded 7 of our men.

After we were fairly out of danger, the crew went to dinner, and the vessel steamed slowly back to Himeshima where we had spent the previous night. Here our Captain meant to bury our dead on shore. Accordingly all due prepartions were made, and boats were lowered and I was requested to accompany the officer in charge to interpret. But just then we observed a dense and dark crowd of natives mustering on the beach, and the Captain deemed it best not to take the dead ashore, inasmuch as this muster of the natives might portend a collision with the funeral party. Wherefore he countermanded the order.

Then he ordered the officers to lower a-boat and examine the hull of the vessel. They dug out one whole shot from under the bulwark, and the fragment of one from under the bowsprit and several others fragments from other places.

About 5 h. 30 p.m. the fine weather suddenly gave place to a downpour of rain, and it continued to lash us unsparingly until 3 o'clock next morning. All had retired except the watch when about 9 h. 30 m. p.m. the quarter-master reported to the Captain that he had heard a signal gun in the distance and that several lights appeared ahead approaching us. This occasioned a good deal of alarm in the wild and rainy night. We beat to quarters and all stood ready for an emergency. But it turned out to be

a groundless alarm, for we soon found that the lights were merely junk lights while nothing more was heard of the signal gun. So in about half-an-hour we all turned in again.

July 17th. At 5 a.m. we weighed anchor and steamed out to sea to bury our dead. We made all preparation and attached weights to the dead bodies, and at 9 h. 30 a.m. just as we were at the entrance of the Bungo Channel, the engines were stopped, the crew were mustered, and the bodies committed to the deep. A few minutes after the ceremony the doctor reported that one of the wounded was groaning in sore pain, and that he had but a few hours to live.

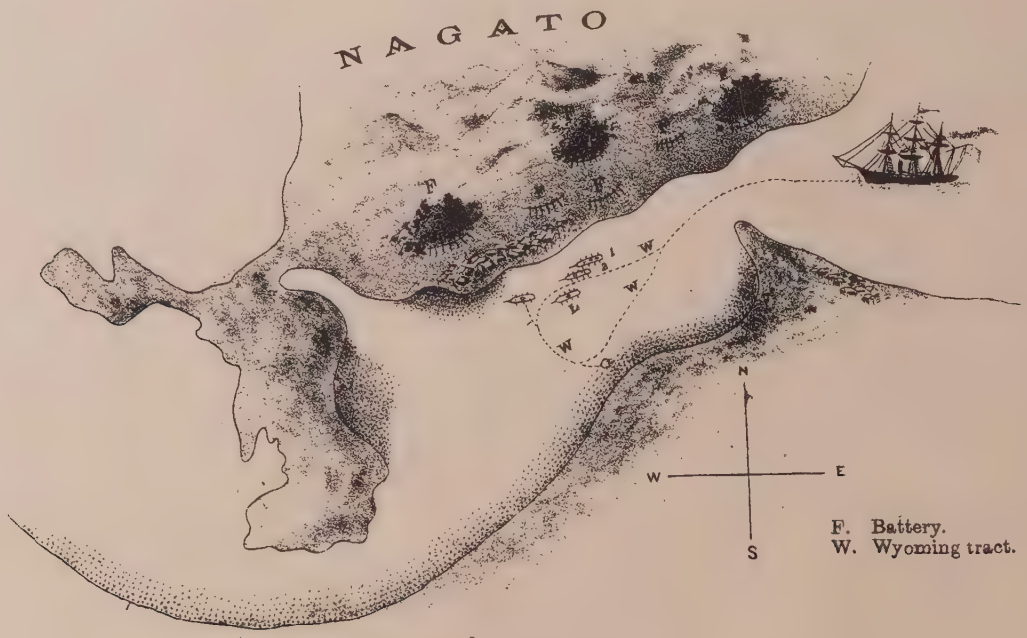
July 18th. The doctor and the Captain consulted about another of the wounded. He had been the first man struck in the fight; his forearm being badly lacerated by a splinter. It was now resolved to amputate it. At 10 a.m. the operation was performed, and the man's pain so sensibly abated that his groaning ceased.

July 20th. Overnight we came to anchor in Yokohama harbour Next morning the shore people crowded on board to hear the news. From them we also learned that the Dutch man-of-war *Medusa* from Nagasaki had come through the Straits and had met with a hard time of it off Shimonoseki. The Chōshiu men had shelled her, killing

four of her people and wounding sixteen more. Also that the French despatch boat the *Kien-chang*, from Yokohama to Shanghai, had been fired on in the Straits and had been well-nigh disabled. She had run out the same way as the *Pembroke* had done. When this news came to the hearing of the French authorities they sent down two boats to take revenge upon Chōshiu.

After breakfast I bade adieu to Capt. McDougal and went ashore and reported myself to the Consul. I asked him why the Minister had not come, saying that Capt. McDougal had waited for him for two hours. The Consul replied with a smile that the Minister had had a severe attack of diarrhœa overnight.

July 24th. The French warships got back from the Inland Sea and reported that they had had severe fighting at Shimonoseki. They claimed a victory and brought lots of trophies in the way of muskets, flags, bows and arrows, swords and armour. But after investigation it appeared that it was but few of the above articles they had brought, while they had their smoke-stack smashed, and had lost a mast, with several men killed and wounded.



Straits of Shimonoseki.

ERRATA.

Page. Line.

3— 7. For "daring" read "faring."
12—25. For "Strait Ondo" read "Straits of Ondo."
15— 3. Insert "the" before "Province."
18—15. For "80" read "160;" and for "200" read "400."
26— . For "*Eiriki-maru*" read "*Eriki-maru*."
28—Last line. After "temple" insert "Kwannon" and omit the next sentence.
40—22. For "clean" read "clear."
48—11. Read "mackerel, *sawara*, and others."
113— 5. Insert "The" before "*St. Mary*."
139—13. For "9 p.m." read "6 p.m."
154— 8. For "give" read "gave."
165— 6. Omit "St. John."
176—12. For "Mani" read "Maui."
176—22. Hawaiian.
184—26. For "22nd" read "6th."
191— 9. For "Dow" read "Dorr."
192— 1. Cum-sing-mûn.
200—25. For "full dress" read "the usual official dress."
206— 2. For "any" read "an."
216—17. For "in" read "on."
217— 9. For "Jardine and Matheson" read "Jardine, Matheson & Co."
224— 8. After "indicated" insert "thus (I)."
237—25. For "Kanriu" read "Kanrin."
277—14. For "Howis" read "Harris."
282— 8. For "Summer" read "Semmes."
289— 3. Before "be" insert "to."
289—18. For "Weller" read "Welles."
297— 7. Insert "F." before "Seward."
303— 6. For "Brooke" read "Brooks."
303— 8. Insert "in" before "number."
310— 4. *Delete* "also" before "entitled."
315— 9. For "S————" read "P————."
315—28. For "great" read "guest."
316— 1. For "me" read "the."
325—28. After "sundown" insert "of the following day."
336—18. For "E. S. F————" read "G. S. F————."

ERRATA

Page. Line.

12—25: Straits of Ondo.

18—15: For "80" read "160" and for "200" read "400."

28—last line. Omit sentence at bottom and at top of p. 30.

48—11: *Read* mackerel, *sawara*, and others.

113—5: The *St. Mary*.

154—8: Gave.

176—12: Maui.

176—22: Hawaiian.

184—24: *For* 12th *read* 28th.

191—9: *For* Dow *read* Dorr.

192 Cum-sing-mûn.

200 *For* full read "the usual official."

216—17: *For* in *read* on.

237—25: For "*Kanriu*" read "*Kanrin*."

277—14: For "Howis" read "HARRIS."

282—8: *For* "Summer" *read* "Semmes."

315—28: *For* "great" *read* "guest."

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